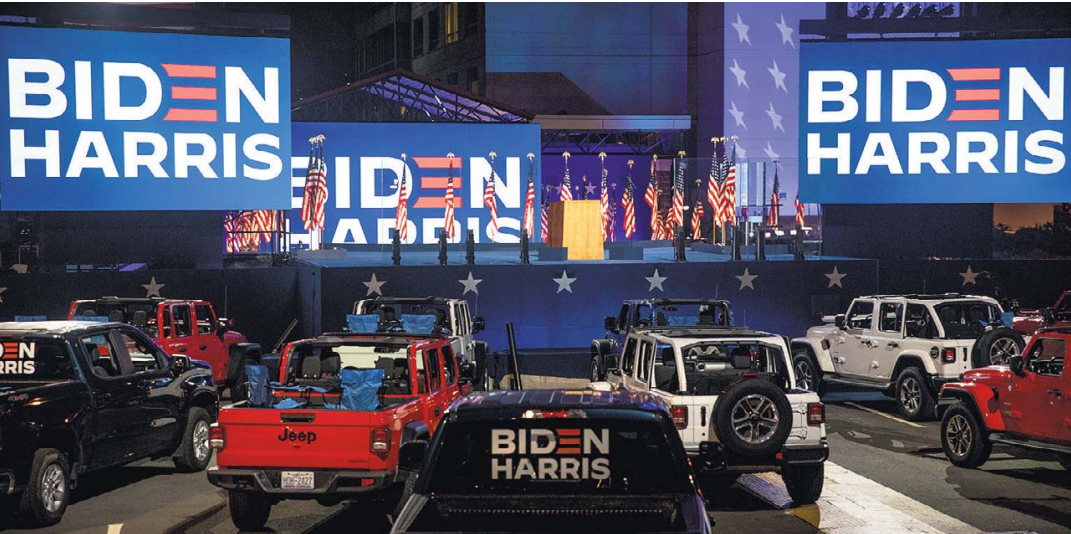


BIDEN MOVES AHEAD IN PENNSYLVANIA, WHICH OPENS PATH TO THE WHITE HOUSE



AMR ALFIKY/THE NEW YORK TIMES



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Getting ready for Joseph R. Biden Jr. to speak on Friday in Wilmington, Del., top, and awaiting results in Times Square. Republican strategists conceded that it was highly probable that Mr. Biden would soon clinch a majority of votes in the Electoral College.

Taking the Lead in Georgia, Too — Trump Floats More Conspiracies

By ALEXANDER BURNS and JONATHAN MARTIN

Joseph R. Biden Jr. on Friday took the lead in Pennsylvania, where a victory would give him the presidency, and was ahead in three other critical battlegrounds as his campaign focused on a presidential transition process and states worked to tally the remaining votes.

President Trump and his political lieutenants spent the day continuing to float baseless conspiracy theories about the legitimacy of the election, and Republicans in several states threatened or took legal action aimed at slowing or halting the counting of ballots. But there were also mounting indications that Mr. Trump would not have the full support of his party if he persisted in a scorched-earth effort to impede the electoral process.

Mr. Biden and his team projected confidence, after overtaking Mr. Trump in the vote count in both Pennsylvania and Georgia early Friday.

But in both states, as well as in Arizona and Nevada, Mr. Biden was not yet leading by a sufficiently wide margin to completely foreclose any possibility — however remote — that the count could still turn against him. On Friday evening, Mr. Biden was ahead in Pennsylvania and Georgia by less than a percentage point, and by not much more than that in the two Western states.

Should Mr. Biden win any combination of two states, or the state of Pennsylvania alone, he would clinch a majority of votes in the Electoral College.

Republican strategists and Trump allies concede that it is highly probable that Mr. Biden will cross that threshold soon enough, and that he may ultimately carry all four of the states in question. In three of them, the remaining ballots are seen as likely

to favor Mr. Biden than Mr. Trump; in the fourth, Arizona, Mr. Trump was expected to gain ground on Mr. Biden but perhaps not by a sufficient amount to erase the former vice president's lead.

In Georgia, Mr. Biden went into the lead overnight Thursday, thanks to a vote tally from Clayton County, a Democratic-leaning area near Atlanta. Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger, a Republican, said the state remained “too close to call” and predicted that it was headed for a recount, given that Mr. Biden's lead stood at a mere 4,000 or so votes out of five million cast.

Mr. Biden held a lead of nearly 40,000 votes in Arizona, with tens of thousands more ballots expected to be reported on Friday night from Maricopa County, the state's population center. It was estimated that Mr. Trump would have to win about three-fifths of the remaining votes to pull off an upset, a proportion he has not been reaching in the late tally so far.

In Nevada, Mr. Biden picked up about 2,500 votes in the Las Vegas area, officials said late Friday, giving him a lead of more than 22,000. Tens of thousands of ballots remain to be counted, but they continue to favor Mr. Biden.

It was in Pennsylvania, though, where the race seemed to turn emphatically in Mr. Biden's direction. Early Friday morning, a few thousand votes from Philadelphia were posted, vaulting the former vice president into the statewide lead and setting off joyous celebrations in the city where Mr. Biden formally began his campaign last year and has long considered a second home.

Outside the city's convention center, jubilant Biden supporters danced along a blockaded part of

Continued in Election 2020, Page 2

BITTER FALLOUT OF BIKERS' RALLY

Virus and Anger Spread After Sturgis Meet

By MARK WALKER and JACK HEALY

STURGIS, S.D. — Albert Aguirre was amped as he and a buddy skimmed across the South Dakota plains, heading to join 460,000 bikers for a motorcycle rally shaping up to be a Woodstock of unmasked, uninhibited coronavirus defiance.

“Sit tight Sturgis,” Mr. Aguirre, 40, posted on Facebook on Aug. 7 as he snapped a photograph of the sun sifting through the clouds. “We're almost there!”

A month later, back home in the college town of Vermillion, S.D., Mr. Aguirre was so sick he could barely take a shower. He had not been tested but told friends that it had to be Covid-19.

Infectious-disease experts had warned about the dangers of cramming thousands of revelers into the Black Hills of South Dakota at the height of a pandemic. But it was the 80th anniversary of the annual Sturgis rally, and bikers were coming no matter what.

South Dakota's Republican governor, a vocal opponent of lockdowns, gave her blessing, local leaders set aside their misgivings, and thousands of people from every state in the nation rolled down Sturgis's Main Street.

In the aftermath, hundreds of people have gotten sick and Sturgis has become a rumbling symbol of America's bitter divisions over the coronavirus, even now, as cases continue to surge, surpassing more than 121,000 daily infections on Thursday, and the nation's death toll crosses 235,000.

Some called the rally a declaration of freedom and went home with T-shirts declaring, “Screw Covid I Went to Sturgis.” But others

Continued on Page A5

Trump's Legal Blitz Runs Into a Wall of Reality

This article is by Jim Rutenberg, Nick Corasaniti and Alan Feuer.

President Trump's bellicose pledge to fight the outcome of the election in the courts crashed on Friday into skeptical judges, daunting Electoral College math and a lack of evidence for his claims of fraud.

On a day that began with vote tallies in Georgia and Pennsylvania tipping in Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s favor, Mr. Trump's campaign de-

Team Unable to Show Evidence of Fraud

clared, “This election is not over,” as the Republican National Committee announced it had activated “legal challenge teams” in Arizona, Georgia, Michigan and Pennsylvania. And the Trump forces named a new general to lead the effort, the hardened con-

servative political combatant David Bossie.

But none of the dozen or so lawsuits they had brought in battleground states appeared to be gaining any traction in the courts. And in any case, none seemed likely to give Mr. Trump the edge he would need in vote counts in the states that would determine the outcome.

In seeking to foment widespread doubt about the legitimacy of the election, Mr. Trump and his

Continued in Election 2020, Page 3

Parties and Prayers as the Vote Count Drags On

This article is by Campbell Robertson, Audra D. S. Burch and Sabrina Tavernise.

PITTSBURGH — At 8:50 on Friday morning, the city of Philadelphia updated its vote tally, nudging Joseph R. Biden Jr. past Donald J. Trump in the state of Pennsylvania. The question on everyone's mind for several interminable days immediately shifted: not “if” but “when.” The election — this tense, angry, virus-plagued and exhausting election — would soon be over.

“We're celebrating everybody's right to vote,” said Bernadette Golarz, 36, amid the impromptu street party that broke out on Friday in front of the Pennsylvania Convention Center, where ballots were still being counted inside. “And the fact that we all showed up to put him out.”

The country has waited three nerve-racking days for news of a definite outcome. All that time, the nation's fate has been cast, just not yet fully known, as local election offices scattered across a handful of states counted the crucial remaining ballots. Voters of both parties have stayed up late and woken up early, praying, hoping, refreshing feeds and staring at maps on the TV that never seemed to change.

“What is happening now is

Three Days on the Edge, and Glued to the TV

what I thought was going to happen,” said Rosemary Gabriel, 51, who moved from Nigeria 19 years ago to the Atlanta suburbs where she now lives and works, “because I still have faith in the American people.”

For all that confidence in the

outcome, though, she had been glued to the TV all week. “I've had four hours of sleep,” she said.

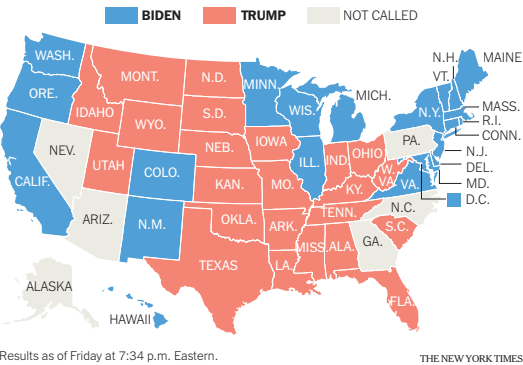
As the tally tediously proceeded, the president falsely declared victory and raged about conspiracy, one of his sons urged “total war” over the election, his campaign's lawyers filed a squall of lawsuits, and crowds of supporters took to the streets demanding that election officials stop counting or keep counting depending on where they were.

Continued in Election 2020, Page 3



BRYAN DENTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A rally in Lansing, Mich., during the ballot count on Wednesday.



Results as of Friday at 7:34 p.m. Eastern.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

As U.S. Awaits Results, Biden Drafts Plans for His West Wing

This article is by Shane Goldmacher, Glenn Thrush and Michael D. Shear.

Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s advisers accelerated their transition planning on Friday as election results showed him with an advantage in battleground states that could hand him the presidency, and the first senior officials in a potential Biden White House could be named as early as next week.

In Wilmington and Washington, Mr. Biden's advisers and allies are ramping up their conversations and planning about who might fill critical posts, both in the West Wing and across the agencies, guided heavily by Mr. Biden's plan to assemble what would be the most diverse cabinet in history.

The behind-the-scenes activity underscored that even as Mr. Biden publicly offered a disciplined message about counting every vote and refrained from claiming victory, he was already planning for a quick start in office as the nation continues to face a pandemic and a damaged economy.

Mr. Biden, who ran from Day 1 on a message of bringing the country together, is said to be interested in making a bipartisan gesture as he plans a prospective

government after a divisive election whose results President Trump has tried to undermine. Mr. Biden is planning to fill out his possible White House staff first, with cabinet posts not expected to be announced until around Thanksgiving.

Mr. Biden's team quietly began raising money for his transition operation in May and has raised at least \$7 million to pay for its efforts. The Biden camp has prepared for multiple scenarios, people familiar with the operation said, in case Mr. Trump refused to concede and his administration would not participate in a Biden transition.

So far, officials in Mr. Trump's government have worked in good faith with their counterparts for Mr. Biden, according to a Biden official, who said the transition team expected that cooperation to continue.

As coronavirus infections hit new highs, Mr. Biden's aides are planning for the first critical transition decisions to focus on health care and addressing the pandemic, the central theme of his campaign in the final months. They have assembled an internal

Continued in Election 2020, Page 11

THE LEGAL ARENA

Challenging the Balloting

The Trump campaign has intensified its legal efforts against his opponent, with lawsuits underway in Nevada, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Georgia. PAGE P4

A MAJORITY NOW IN LIMBO

2nd Senate Runoff in Georgia

David Perdue, a first-term Republican, fell short of the majority of votes needed to win re-election, setting up a January rematch with Jon Ossoff. PAGE P9

ARIZONA POWER SHIFT

Nativism on the Wane

Maricopa County boosted Republican hardliners in a crackdown on immigrants. Now children of immigrants are challenging G.O.P. power. PAGE P8

NEW YORK

A Divided Democratic Party

After losing seats in the House, progressives and centrists in the state are embroiled in a debate over the party's future and messaging. PAGE P10

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Roger Cohen

PAGE A18



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Of Interest

NOTEWORTHY FACTS FROM TODAY’S PAPER

After he criticized President Xi Jinping for the government’s handling of the coronavirus, Ren Zhiqiang, a wealthy, politically connected Chinese property developer, was sentenced in September to 18 years in prison.
Beijing Quashes Anticipated Ant I.P.O. B1

Repeated surveys by the Federal Reserve have found that many households would find it difficult to pay an unexpected \$400 expense.
A New Way to Help Employees Save B6

The N.B.A. informed its teams and players in recent days that for the 2019-20 season, the league fell \$1.5 billion short of projected revenue.
N.B.A. Players Tentatively Agree To Resume Play Next Month B8



CHANEL MILLER

Jersey City, which tends to attract audiences from New York City because its theaters and galleries sit just across the Hudson River, is the first municipality in New Jersey to establish a tax to benefit the arts.
Jersey City Voters Say Yes to Funding the Arts C2

At 8, Nannette Streicher, who would become one of Beethoven’s closest friends and one of the finest piano builders in Europe, played in front of Mozart, who criticized her posture but admitted she had “genius.”
The Woman Who Built Pianos for Beethoven C1

In the past year, all seven Islamist extremist attacks in France have been carried out by individuals unknown to the intelligence services, who used unsophisticated weapons and had no clear links to terrorist groups.
Recent Attacks in France Point to a Threat Beyond Extremist Networks A10

Germany spends about a third of its gross domestic product on a robust social welfare system.
A Beneficiary Studies the Impact Of Having a Monthly Basic Income A12

The Conversation

FIVE OF THE MOST READ, SHARED AND DISCUSSED POSTS FROM ACROSS NYTIMES.COM

Presidential Election Results

The day’s most read article was once again The Times’s election results page, where reporters were tracking the race for the White House with continual updates, analysis and latest vote counts from battleground states.

Election Highlights

Our live briefing included an announcement by Georgia officials that a recount there would be inevitable; a report on how President Trump’s victory in Florida could influence future GOP campaigns; and news that David Bossie, a Trump adviser, would lead the president’s postelection legal battles.

A Big Win for Democrats in California Came With a Gut Check for Liberals

Joe Biden scored big in the state, but how California’s ballot measures were decided shows a more complex electorate.

Humpback Whale Upends California Kayakers

The wild encounter was caught on video: Two women whale watching off California’s Central Coast were tossed into the water when a humpback suddenly surfaced beneath their kayak, capsizing it. The friends were shaken but unharmed.



MANDY BOYLE, VIA STORYFUL

Stephen Colbert Doesn’t Feel Like Laughing

“The Late Show” host’s somber speech about the state of American democracy Thursday topped our roundup of late-night TV highlights.

Spotlight

ADDITIONAL REPORTAGE AND REPARTEE FROM OUR JOURNALISTS

This week, John Eligon, a national correspondent who covers race, examined the issue of low-income housing through one complex in New Berlin, Wis., a Milwaukee suburb. The building of that development met resistance a decade ago, with opponents saying it would lead to more crime and lower property values. But that development today proves otherwise and challenges assumptions about affordable housing. Mr. Eligon distilled his reporting on Twitter in edited comments below.

Like many mostly white suburbs, residents in New Berlin freaked out when the housing was proposed a decade ago. Eight years since its construction, there has been no crime wave. Property values are up citywide. It’s “really rather attractive,” said the mayor, who vigorously opposed the housing at the time.

Fears of the housing were based on false stereotypes. Most able-bodied, working-age, low-income housing residents are engaged in the work force. Studies have shown that they don’t increase crime and generally don’t hurt surrounding property values.

Yes, there are many communities where low-income housing and the surrounding area are rough. But fair housing advocates say that when developments are planned correctly and not concentrated in one area, those problems are far less likely.

In affluent communities, affordable housing can give low-income people access to resources they otherwise may not have. But the New Berlin project has not had a racially integrative effect. That’s often the case because of broader structural issues that one development won’t solve.

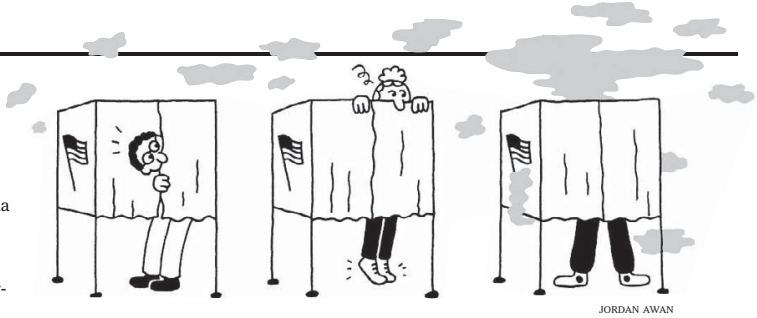
John Eligon @jeligon

To read the full article, go to nytimes.com/by/john-eligon.

Sketchbook

GREEN WAVE

Voters in Arizona, Montana, South Dakota and New Jersey approved ballot measures to legalize marijuana in their states. Since Colorado and Washington opened the door eight years ago, pot has marched across the political map. One in three Americans lives in a place where it is or will be legal.



JORDAN AWAN

Quote of the Day

A CLIFFHANGER OF AN ELECTION, WITH ONE CANDIDATE LEADING BY MILLIONS P8

“Why, when somebody has won millions more votes than their opponent, are we still deliberating over 10,000 votes here, 5,000 votes there?”

CAROL ANDERSON, a professor of African-American studies at Emory University who researches voter suppression, speaking about the Electoral College.

Here to Help

FEELING UNPRODUCTIVE? FIND THE LITTLE JOYS

Think back to the early days of the pandemic in March and April. For many people, it felt like constant chaos, uncertainty and unprecedented levels of stress and anxiety. Everything was happening all the time, and no one had answers or solutions to any of it.

But as we settle into more than half a year of this, a different type of stress has crept in, said Liz Fosslien, co-author and illustrator of “No Hard Feelings: The Secret Power of Embracing Emotion at Work.” “Everything has shifted. Now seven months in, every day is Groundhog Day. We’ve swung to the extreme other end of the pendulum. There’s no spark to life,” she said.

Ms. Fosslien advises giving yourself grace and accepting that sometimes you’ll just feel uninspired, and said that making efforts to break up the monotony may help you grab a little spark of inspiration.

For example: We’ve all experienced something of an identity shift with work. For some that means working from home for the first time, for others it means continuing to work but in a dangerous and



CHANELLE NIBBELINK

precarious environment, and for others still it may mean not working at all.

But remembering what gave your work meaning or joy in the Before Times and translating it to current times can help you break spells of demotivation, Ms. Fosslien said. If your favorite part of work was your co-workers, make extra effort to schedule a check-in. If it was learning new skills, seek out ways to continue to grow your skill set. Maybe you just loved picking your outfit every day — see if doing that again a few times per week can reinvigo-rate you. **TIM HERRERA**

Read more *Smarter Living* at nytimes.com/smarterliving.

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Tracking an Outbreak

The New York Times

Coronavirus Update

Air Force Medical Teams Sent to El Paso

Warning of Second Wave in New York City

Surge of Infections Across France and Italy

By JAMES BARRON

Public health officials had long warned that coronavirus case numbers would go up as temperatures went down. In the first week of November, their admonishments proved true, as the United States recorded new six-digit, single-day highs.

There were concerns that the virus was revisiting states it had ravaged earlier in the pandemic. But while infections in parts of Texas hit hard over the summer have slowed in recent weeks, the virus has spread with continued speed in El Paso, leading to an average of more than 1,900 new cases a day. With its caseload rising since October, El Paso is now a hot spot. On Friday, the Defense Department sent three Air Force medical teams to the city to help out.

In New York, the early epicenter of the pandemic, Mayor Bill de Blasio warned of a second wave, citing a rise in the city’s seven-day average of positive test results. The rate was 1.96 percent on Friday, well below the 5 percent threshold that health authorities consider problematic. But the upward trend was “a problem,” Mr. de Blasio said on WNYC radio.

But Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo of New York said that he would move to ease lockdowns in some parts of New York City. “Downstate is now doing better than upstate New York,” Mr. Cuomo said, “which is a total reversal from the first phase of Covid.” The governor said that his approach to combating the virus — a sometimes confusing tangle of benchmarks and tiers — was “working and working well,” and that a microcluster in Far Rockaway, Queens, had been brought under control.

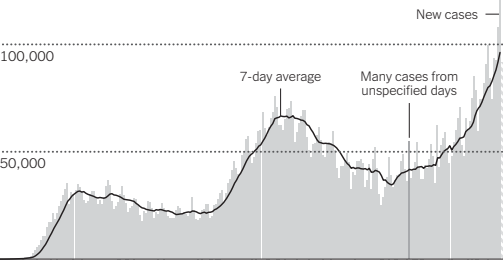
New Jersey recorded more than 2,000 new cases for the third straight day, a level it had not reached since early May. But Gov. Philip D. Murphy, who said on Thursday that “we will clearly be taking action,” did not provide details on Friday about measures that might be imposed. “We’re working on making sure that we’ve got a right balance between strategic, scalpel-like actions and some broader actions that we will almost certainly take sooner than later,” he told a news conference.

But the virus is a global problem. As the first week of November ended, more Europeans were seriously ill than ever before, according to new hospital data for 21 countries, some of which continue to post daily records. In France, just over 60,000 new cases were reported on Friday, and just under 38,000 were recorded in Italy, where lockdowns began in six regions in the deeply infected north and the highly vulnerable, and poorer, south.

In Poland, where demonstrators have been protesting a near-total ban on abortion, Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki blamed them for the higher coronavirus case counts. The seven-day average of new cases climbed past 21,000, and on Friday, the first patients were admitted to a new field hospital at a stadium in Warsaw. In Romania, a mask mandate will go into effect on Monday, schools will conduct classes only online and people will be required to fill out forms if they go out after a nightly curfew.

New Coronavirus Cases Announced Daily in U.S.

As of Friday evening, more than **9,789,600** people across every state, plus Washington, D.C., and four U.S. territories, have tested positive for the virus, according to a New York Times database.



100,000
50,000

New cases

7-day average

Many cases from unspecified days

March 1 Nov. 6

Note: Friday's total is incomplete because some states report cases after press time. Data is as of Nov. 6, 2020, at 5 p.m. Eastern.

Sources: State and local health agencies; hospitals; C.D.C.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Big Changes on Campus

The coronavirus is also leaving its mark on college life: Just over a quarter of a million infections have been reported at colleges and universities — 2.6 percent of the national total, according to a New York Times survey that found that more than 38,000 cases had been posted in just the past two weeks.

Those numbers almost certainly underrepresent the presence of the virus on campuses, and with cases continuing to climb, some universities are scaling back the presence of students. The College Park campus of the University of Maryland will move most classes online after Thanksgiving. The university’s president, Darryll Pines, said students who leave for the Thanksgiving holiday should not plan to return.

Elsewhere, some college officials have blamed students for spiking cases, but some students counter that administrators should have seen the surge coming. “It’s very difficult to say whether, you know, it’s really on students for throwing these honestly reckless parties,” Dylan Brooks, a senior at Arizona State University, told the school newspaper. “If you’re bringing A.S.U. college students back to A.S.U., this is how they’re going to act.” Arizona State, which has 44,000 students, has reported 2,518 cases.

At Notre Dame in Indiana, the debate was about how the university’s president had acted — not while on campus, but at a White House reception at which he did not wear a face mask. The president, the Rev. John I. Jenkins, survived a no-confidence vote on Thursday, but the faculty passed a less strident measure expressing “disappointment.” Anger had swept the campus last month after he returned from the largely mask-free Supreme Court nomination ceremony on Sept. 26 for Justice Amy Coney Barrett, a former member of the Notre Dame faculty. Numerous attendees later tested positive for the coronavirus, among them Father Jenkins, who later apologized.

Containing a Second Wave

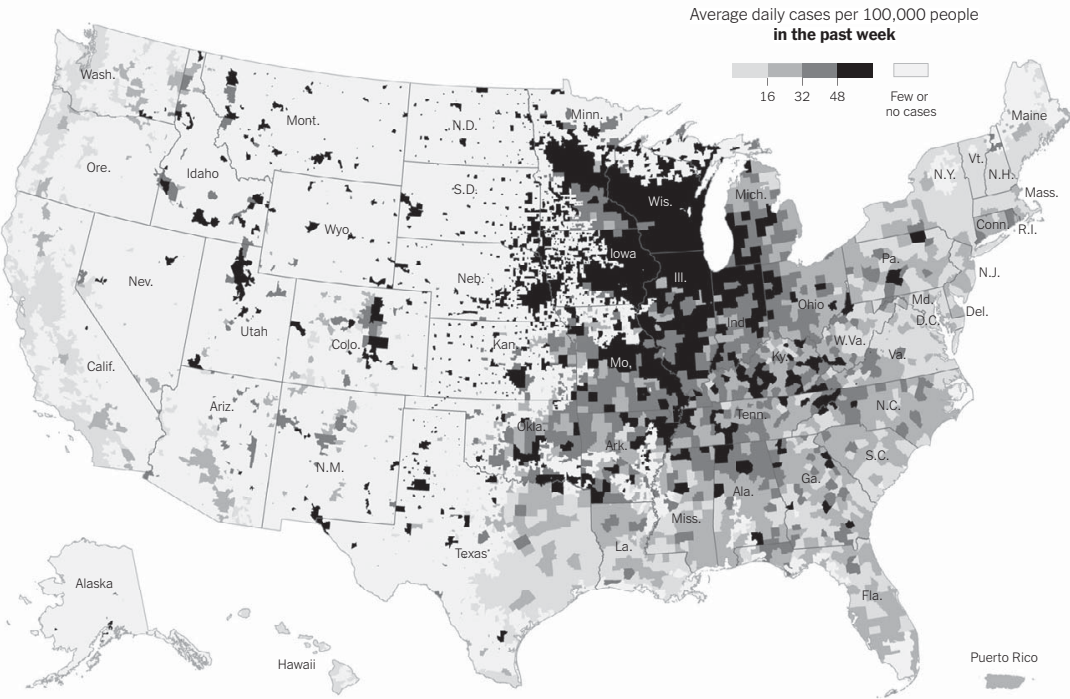
On Friday, for the seventh straight day, the Australian state of Victoria said it had no locally transmitted virus cases to report. That suggested that a three-month lockdown in Melbourne, the state’s capital, had successfully contained a second-wave outbreak.

For those quarantining at home in South Australia, the police are considering using facial recognition technology to ensure that the rules are followed. News outlets quoted Grant Stevens, the state police commissioner, as saying that officers had made nearly 120,000 compliance checks on people who were in quarantine at home in the past month. “If we can streamline that process” with technology, he said, “then that’s good for everybody.”

Coronavirus Update wraps up the day’s developments with information from across the virus report.

Hot Spots in the United States

As of Friday evening, more than **9,789,600** people across every state, plus Washington, D.C., and four U.S. territories, have tested positive for the coronavirus, according to a New York Times database. More than **236,100** people with the virus have died in the United States.



Sources: State and local health agencies. The map shows the share of population with a new reported case over the last week. Parts of a county with a population density lower than 10 people per square mile are not shaded. Data for Rhode Island is shown at the state level because county level data is infrequently reported. Data is as of Nov. 6, 2020, at 5 p.m., Eastern.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

IMMUNE RESPONSE

Study Sheds Light on How Children Beat Virus

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI

Children infected with the coronavirus produce weaker antibodies and fewer types of them than adults do, suggesting they clear their infection much faster, according to a new study published Thursday.

Other studies have suggested that an overly strong immune response may be to blame in people who get severely ill or die from Covid-19. A weaker immune response in children may paradoxically indicate that they vanquish the virus before it has had a chance to wreak havoc in the body, and may help explain why children are mostly spared severe symptoms of Covid, the disease caused by the coronavirus. It may also show why they are less likely to spread the virus to others.

“They may be infectious for a shorter time,” said Donna Farber, an immunologist at Columbia University in New York who led the study reported in the journal *Nature Immunology*.

Having weaker and fewer antibodies does not mean that children would be more at risk of re-infections, other experts said.

“You don’t really need a huge, overly robust immune response to maintain protections over some period of time,” said Deepta Bhattacharya, an immunologist at the University of Arizona in Tucson. “I don’t know that I would be especially worried that kids have a little bit lower antibody response.”

The study looked at children’s antibody levels at a single point in time, and was too small to provide insights into how the levels may vary with age. But it could pose questions for certain antibody tests that may be missing children who have been infected.

Dr. Farber and her colleagues analyzed antibodies to the coronavirus in four groups of patients: 19 adult convalescent plasma donors who had recovered from Covid without being hospitalized; 13 adults hospitalized with acute respiratory distress syndrome resulting from severe Covid; 16 children hospitalized with multi-system inflammatory syndrome, the rare condition affecting some infected children; and 31 infected children who did not have the syndrome. About half of this last group of children had no symptoms at all.

Individuals in each group had antibodies, consistent with other studies showing that the vast majority of people infected with the coronavirus mount a robust immune response.

“This further emphasizes that this viral infection in itself, and the immune response to this virus, is not that different from what we would expect” from any virus, said Petter Brodin, an immunologist at Karolinska Institutet in Stockholm.

But the range of antibodies differed between children and adults. The children made primarily one type of antibody, called IgG, that recognizes the spike protein on the surface of the virus.



KENDRICK BRINSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A closed playground in Los Angeles, above. Sorting test samples, below, at a laboratory in Houston. Scientists say the weaker immune response to the virus may explain why many children avoid the worst symptoms of the virus.



DAVID J. PHILLIP/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Adults, by contrast, made several types of antibodies to the spike and other viral proteins, and these antibodies were more powerful at neutralizing the virus.

Children had “less of a protective response, but they also had less of a breadth of an antibody response,” Dr. Farber said. “It’s because those kids are just not getting infected as severely.”

Neither group of children had antibodies to a viral protein called the nucleocapsid, or N, that is entangled with the genetic material of the virus. Because this protein is found within the virus and not on its surface, the immune system would only see it and make antibodies to it if the virus were widely disseminated in the body, she said.

“You don’t really see any of that in the children, and that suggests that there’s really a reduced infection course if these kids are getting infected,” she explained.

The finding could undermine the results from tests designed to pick up antibodies to the N protein

of the virus. Many antibody tests, including those made by Abbott and Roche and offered by Quest Diagnostics and LabCorp, are specific to the N antibodies and so may miss children who have successfully cleared the virus.

“That’s absolutely an interesting implication of that finding,” Dr. Brodin said.

Lower levels of virus in the body would also explain why children seem generally to transmit the virus less efficiently than adults do.

But experts urged some caution in interpreting the results because they represent samples taken from people at a single point in time.

Samples from the more severely affected children and adults were collected within 24 to 36 hours of being admitted or intubated for respiratory failure; those from children with mild or no symptoms were banked after medical procedures.

The type of antibodies produced by the body varies over

the time course of an infection. This was a limitation of this study because the researchers may have been comparing people at different points in their infection, Dr. Brodin said. “You risk comparing apples and oranges.”

Other experts cautioned that the study was too small to draw conclusions about how the immune response may vary in children of different ages. The children in the study ranged in age from 3 to 18 years, with a median age of 11. But some studies have suggested that teenagers may be just as much at risk from the coronavirus as adults.

“It’s very important to understand what happens in children,” to understand the nature of their illness, but also how they contribute to spread of the virus in the community, said Dr. Maria L. Genaro, an immunologist at Rutgers University. But “to try and stratify by age, it’s a little bit of a stretch in the analysis,” she said.

The researchers were also not able to explain why children have a more limited antibody response.

Having fewer types of antibodies may seem like a bad thing, but “having a ton of antibody isn’t necessarily a marker of a good thing,” said Dr. Bhattacharya. “It usually means that something went wrong early in the response.”

At least one other study has suggested that children have a powerful inborn immune system, intended to combat the many new pathogens they encounter, and that this first line of defense may clear the infection early without needing to rely on later antibodies.

Another possibility is that the children have some protection — in the form of immune cells called memory T cells — from previous encounters with common cold coronaviruses.

“Is it all innate? Or could there actually be some pre-existing memory?” Dr. Bhattacharya said. “I think those are both possible.”



This year’s motorcycle rally in Sturgis, S.D., was the event’s 80th anniversary. More than 400,000 people attended.

From Page A1

ers in deeply conservative South Dakota now say it recklessly helped seed a new wave of cases raging out of control in the state.

Family members who stayed away are angry at relatives who attended and brought the virus home. Sturgis council members who approved the rally have been bombarded with death threats. And health experts and politicians are still fighting over how many cases Sturgis may have caused across the country.

After the crowds streamed home like some huge exhalation, coronavirus cases tied to the rally began popping up as far away as New Hampshire. Infection numbers climbed in the Dakotas and in the neighboring states of Wyoming and Nebraska, where thousands of residents had returned from Sturgis.

In all, cases spread to more than 20 states and at least 300 people — including revelers’ families and co-workers who never set foot in South Dakota, according to state health officials. Twin sisters who had worked at a bike-washing stand in Sturgis tested positive. So did a local paramedic. And a motorcycle mechanic’s family in Rapid City.

Health officials said a lack of contact tracing and the sheer scale of the event have made it impossible to know how many people were infected directly or indirectly because of Sturgis.

“We don’t know if we’ll ever know the full extent,” said Dr. Benjamin C. Aaker, president of the South Dakota State Medical Association. “These people go home and get sick with coronavirus. They don’t have any way of knowing whether they picked it up at the rally or back in California.”

Mr. Aguirre’s friends said they would probably never know whether he got sick at Sturgis, at a bar or restaurant in his hometown as college students returned, or somewhere else altogether.

But friends said that by early September, Mr. Aguirre — a big guy and fiercely loyal friend who loved cooking and the Wu-Tang Clan — had been sick for more than a week and was struggling to breathe and eat. He called a local clinic but worried he could not afford to go to a hospital because he did not have insurance, according to friends and the chief of the Vermillion Police Department.

“Hanging in there?” a friend, Dan Herrera, texted Mr. Aguirre on Sept. 5.

“About to get in the shower and see how much energy that uses,” Mr. Aguirre replied.

“Good luck.”

Three days later, Mr. Herrera texted Mr. Aguirre to check in.

This time, there was no answer.

‘We Hope People Come’

Like every year, banners strung across Main Street proclaimed, “Welcome Harley Riders.” Downtown was blocked off for motorcycle parking. And despite rising case counts and growing criticism, Gov. Kristi Noem told Fox News in August that the state was handling the virus and glad to host the rally. “We hope people come,” she said.

But behind the scenes, many in the 7,000-person city of Sturgis were on edge.

Three City Council members wanted to call it off, but they changed their votes at the last minute after several large concert venues, including the Buffalo Chip campground and Rushmore Photo and Gifts, sent letters threatening legal action against the city. Sixty percent of residents who answered a city-sponsored survey wanted to postpone the rally, but city officials said they were boxed in.

“I said back in March, do you want me to build a wall around Sturgis or a wall around South Dakota, because that is the only way we could have stopped them,” Mayor Mark Carstensen of Sturgis said.

The backlash came quickly. After the rally concluded, city officials were flooded with death threats day and night by phone, email and mail.

In response, the city scrubbed its website of all personal contact information and replaced it with a generic phone line. The death threats ramped up another notch after a study suggested the event resulted in an estimated 250,000 coronavirus infections across the country.

Mike Bachand, a City Council member, was among those who received death threats for his vote

Mark Walker reported from Sturgis, and Jack Healy from Denver.

RALLY IN STURGIS

‘WE KIND OF KNEW WHAT WAS GOING TO HAPPEN’

Infectious-Disease Experts Gave a Warning, but It Didn’t Matter Much



PHOTOGRAPHS BY BENJAMIN RASMUSSEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Outside Beaver Bar in Sturgis last month. Coronavirus cases from the event spread to more than 300 people in 20 states.

‘These people go home and get sick with coronavirus. They don’t have any way of knowing whether they picked it up at the rally or back in California.’

DR. BENJAMIN C. AAKER, president of the South Dakota State Medical Association.

The state is averaging about 1,100 cases a day, compared with fewer than 100 in much of August and September.

But other conservatives accuse the news media and Democrats of inflating case counts and exaggerating the rally’s toll to smear its bikers. They said the number of infections was negligible compared with the thousands who attended, and pointed out that many rallygoers spent the week outdoors, camping and zooming through Spearfish Canyon and the Badlands.

‘Never Seen Him So Sick’

Back home, quietly, people were getting sick. And health departments in different states were struggling to trace where they had gotten sick or who else they might have infected on long road

trips that spanned hundreds of miles.

In Rapid City, Holly Sortland had feared the virus would find her family, especially her 15-year-old son, who has a heart defect. Her husband was a motorcycle mechanic in Sturgis, and though he wore a mask and tried to stay away from the rally crowds, a co-worker had been going maskless to the bars. Five people at his bike shop tested positive.

“We kind of knew what was going to happen,” Ms. Sortland said. “I’ve never seen him so sick.”

By mid-August, Ms. Sortland said, her husband was running a 101-degree fever and shed about 10 pounds. When she got flowers for her birthday, she realized that she could not smell them — a symptom that she, too, had Covid-19. A positive coronavirus

test confirmed it.

A contact tracer with the South Dakota Department of Health called the family to ask where her husband worked, but he worried about getting into trouble with his boss given the stigma that swirls around the virus, Ms. Sortland said. When she talked with the tracer, she said, she was not asked about her family contacts or where she had shopped.

To date, the Health Department has reported 125 coronavirus cases among state residents who attended the rally. Derrick Haskins, a department spokesman, said the agency conducts contact tracing on South Dakota residents only.

The Minnesota Department of Health in September connected 74 cases to the rally — 51 people who came into contact with them later. A man in his 60s who attended the rally contracted the virus and died. He is the only rallygoer whose death has been attributed to the coronavirus.

“It is very challenging to trace the infections that attendees may have spread after they returned from Sturgis,” said Kris Ehresmann, director of infectious disease epidemiology at the Minnesota Department of Health. “We were able to link several infections at a Minnesota wedding to someone who had gone to Sturgis but we were not able to definitively state there was a direct link. The web just becomes too complicated.”

In North Dakota, the Health Department traced 30 cases back to the event, said Nicole Peske, a spokeswoman for the agency. That number, she added, does not include any secondary coronavirus cases that may have resulted if someone contracted the virus from someone who was at the rally.

Ms. Peske said the agency was still investigating the cases linked to the event.

The illnesses cut rifts among friends and families. In the rural panhandle of western Nebraska, Heather Edwards watched with frustration after a cousin who had worked at the rally tested positive and then shrugged off the seriousness because she had a mild case. A woman in Sioux Falls, S.D., seethed after her sister returned home from Sturgis, went to a wedding with a pasta buffet and tested positive the next day.

Feeling Helpless

Heidi Morgan, a conservative Republican who lives in the Black Hills, said some friends from Nebraska who attended Sturgis got sick after returning home. They refused to get tested out of a belief that the rally’s opponents wanted to use higher infection numbers as a political weapon.

“There’s that feeling of, ‘We’re not going to add to the numbers,’” said Ms. Morgan, who said her family had taken the pandemic seriously, guided by their Baptist faith in putting others’ welfare first. “I’m trying to convince them that’s not true.”

Mr. Aguirre was found dead at home on Sept. 10. The officers who moved his body wore gowns and protective gear because of the coronavirus risk, according to Chief Matt Betzen of the Vermillion Police Department. A posthumous test for the virus came back positive, according to the county coroner.

South Dakota’s Health Department has not connected any deaths to the rally, and Mr. Aguirre’s friends said they have been struggling to get answers or information about how and where he got sick, and wondering whether they could have helped.

“I don’t understand why he went to Sturgis and didn’t take Covid seriously,” said Jon Esmay, a friend who had not spoken with Mr. Aguirre in a few months. “Mostly I’m just angry that someone who talked to or saw him more often didn’t get him to the ER. I’m angry that I didn’t talk to him more often.”

Dustin Van Balen, who considered Mr. Aguirre to be like an adopted brother, said he had been trying to piece together a timeline using Mr. Aguirre’s phone. But he said they might never have answers.

“Not knowing is the hardest part,” he said.



Dan Herrera, whose friend Albert Aguirre attended the rally and later died from the virus. Mr. Herrera said he didn’t understand why his friend “didn’t take Covid seriously.”

PANDEMIC TRAVEL

Thinking About a Vacation? Here’s What You Need to Know

By ELAINE GLUSAC

To travel, or not to travel? That is the holiday question.

With the approach of Thanksgiving and the December holidays during a surge in coronavirus cases nationwide, the increased risks presented by travel — either contracting or spreading the virus — are challenging the industry during what is normally one of its busiest seasons.

The market research firm Destination Analysts found in a recent Coronavirus Travel Sentiment Index Study, a weekly survey of 1,200 Americans, that only 28 per-

cent expected to travel for the holidays, including both Thanksgiving and Christmas. In the same survey, 53 percent said they had traveled for the holidays last year.

Little is certain in travel today, other than the necessity of wearing a mask and maintaining social distance, whenever possible. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention “strongly recommends” that masks be worn on any public conveyance, including subways, buses, taxis, ride shares and airplanes.

Here are five more things we know about holiday travel.



Protective gear, and empty middle seats, on a Southwest flight.

Fewer fliers, potentially fuller planes

Last Thanksgiving, Airlines for America, the industry trade group, expected 31.6 million travelers over the 12-day holiday period. This year, the group declined to provide an estimate.

The airline business continues to be depressed, with searches for Thanksgiving flights down 60 percent year over year, according to the travel-planning site Kayak. Hopper, the airline booking app, said the average domestic round-trip ticket for Thanksgiving travel is \$173, down 41 percent compared to last year. FlightAware, which tracks flight traffic, said commercial aviation remains at about half of 2019 volume. Those planes that are flying are filled to just 61 percent of capacity on average.

Still, scoring a seat without a neighbor sharing your armrest is getting harder, and travelers should prepare for more crowded planes. Southwest Airlines, which has held middle seats open during the pandemic, recently announced it would make all seats available for flights beginning Dec. 1.

“To date, demand has been so weak that blocking the middle seat hasn’t hurt us,” said Gary Kelly, the chief executive of the airline, in a recorded statement in October. He added that going into the holiday season, “the value of selling the middle seats is significant and will provide additional key revenue for us.”

Among the four largest carriers in the United States, including American, Southwest and United,

that leaves only Delta Air Lines committed to leaving its middle seats open during the holidays, now through Jan. 6.

In a third-quarter earnings call, Edward H. Bastian, Delta’s chief executive, said the airline expects business in December to be about a third of what it was in December 2019.

Many medical experts credit the airlines for using HEPA filters to scrub the air of germs on planes. A recent study by the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health found little evidence of in-flight transmission since mask mandates were implemented in spring and rated the risk of disease transmission on planes below that of grocery shopping or eating out.

But the risks of flying are not just at cruising altitude.

“You have to take into account all the steps of travel, getting to the airport, security lines, layovers,” said Dr. Henry Wu, the director of Emory TravelWell Center and an associate professor of infectious diseases at Emory University School of Medicine. “All of these things add to the potential exposure list.”

In addition to vigilant mask-wearing, he advises carrying hand sanitizer, choosing a window seat to avoid others passing in the aisles, wearing a face shield and avoiding eating or drinking, which requires you to lower your mask, if possible.

Outside of the plane, he added, “I want folks to internalize what is six feet, whether they’re walking to the gates or getting into elevators or on escalators.”



Medical workers at a virus-testing facility at Boston’s airport for employees that will open later this month to regular passengers.

Preserving your bubble away from home

Testing is one way families and friends might consider merging their bubbles for the holidays. But using them, like everything else travel-related these days, takes planning, including ensuring members of merging bubbles are following the same precautions leading up to the trip.

“You have to lower your risk, then test,” said Dr. Emily Landon, an associate professor of medicine and an infectious disease expert at the University of Chicago, who advises families to quarantine for up to 14 days before testing. “The tests are most sensitive five to eight days after exposure. And they’re not perfect. The faster they are, generally speaking, the least likely they are to be accurate.”

Molecular tests, also known as PCR tests, are considered most accurate and usually require at least a day or two to get the results, versus antigen tests, which are quick but less accurate.

Meeting at a neutral site, like a vacation home rental will decrease the chances of encountering other strangers while preserving your own bubble or your newly enlarged one. HomeToGo, a vacation rental search engine, said rental home bookings between Thanksgiving and New Year’s Day are up 70 percent nationally compared to last year.

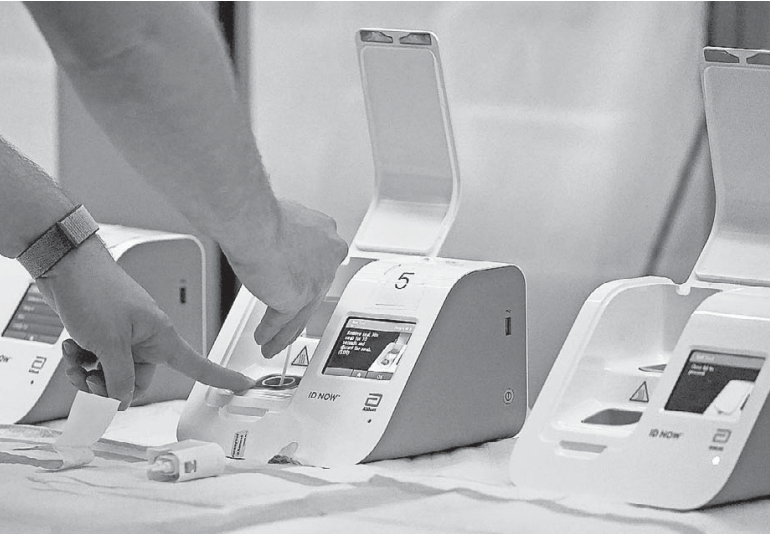


John Minichillo/Associated Press

Bringing your own food to last during your stay is another way to minimize contact with strangers. Where possible, experts recommend dining outdoors, or even dividing up an outdoor patio into areas assigned to each family bubble. The C.D.C.’s recommendations for holiday gatherings include keeping them small, socially distant, short and outside or well-ventilated.

When it comes to lodging, hotels are considered a safer option than staying at the home of a friend or relative. In addition to enhanced cleaning, hotels are relatively deserted. Across the country, average hotel occupancy is about half, with rates just shy of \$100 a night, according to the hotel analysts STR, Inc.

Arturo’s in Manhattan. Outdoor dining has likely come to stay in New York.



Jeff Chiu/Associated Press

A rapid antigen testing machine, part of a pilot program for United Airlines passengers.

Covid-19 testing as a safe-travel passport

Increasingly, airlines are touting testing for Covid-19 as a way to reassure travelers that flying is safe.

In a pilot program running Nov. 6 to Dec. 11, United Airlines will offer free rapid testing to passengers on select flights from Newark to London, ensuring that everyone on board (except children under age 2) have tested negative before takeoff.

In October, United began offering Covid-19 testing at San Francisco International Airport to fliers bound for Hawaii, which requires negative test results in order to avoid quarantining for

14 days. American Airlines is also offering testing to Hawaii-bound travelers either in person or through an at-home kit.

Both the International Air Transport Association and Airlines for America are calling for preflight Covid-19 testing as an alternative to quarantine restrictions.

For destinations that require testing, such as Hawaii and Jamaica, the type of tests may vary along with the grace period for getting it before arrival, requiring travelers to research testing requirements carefully.

“When we can have some international agreement on the best strategy to test and when to test and which test to use, that

will make the whole process easier for travelers, airlines and destinations,” said Lin H. Chen, the president of the International Society of Travel Medicine and an associate professor at Harvard Medical School. “Right now, we don’t have that standard.”

While roughly half of respondents with holiday travel plans told Destination Analysts that they would not undergo testing before their holiday travels, a third said they would.

“If you’re negative, that’s good news but it doesn’t mean you should relax your precautions,” Dr. Wu said. “The results could be false or you could be incubating infection. And you could get infected during the trip itself.”

Prepare to quarantine

From strict statewide policies in New York and Connecticut to local restrictions in Chicago, many destinations require visitors or returning residents to quarantine. The C.D.C. recommends checking state, territorial, tribal and local health websites for current restrictions.

Many of the quarantine mandates rely on self-monitoring. But breaking a quarantine order in New York can cost up to \$10,000 in fines or up to 15 days in prison. As of Nov. 4, most out-of-state travelers may avoid New York’s 14-day quarantine requirement with negative Covid-19 results from a test taken within three days of arrival, a quarantine for three days after arrival, and receiving negative test results from another test taken on day four.

“You need to think about the entire trip,” said Jeremy Prout, the director of security solutions for the Americas at International SOS, a health and security services firm. “That includes the trip back, which might add a two-week quarantine.”

Be prepared for the risk of infection while traveling, which could result in a quarantine in the destination. Mr. Prout recommends travelers pack for a two-week trip, even if only a brief visit was planned.

Potential quarantines in a destination are another reason to ensure that, if you flew, your airline ticket has a flexible cancellation policy or waives change fees. Southwest does not charge fees for changing your ticket, and Delta is waiving change fees on most tickets purchased this year.

Avoid tickets like Basic Economy on United and American, which do not allow changes.

Driving offers more control

In a survey of 16,000 Americans this summer, the consulting group Deloitte Digital found road trips and short-haul regional travel were preferred by 65 percent of respondents, a number it expects may increase during the holidays.

“The advantage of driving is the environment is much more controlled,” said Emory’s Dr. Wu. “Ideally, you’re driving with your immediate family you live with. If you’re picking up folks from other households, that increases the risk someone might be infected and you’re exposed. And it’s a small, tight environment.”

This fall, the American Automobile Association said visits to its trip-mapping service TripTik has doubled since spring. Like Google Maps and other digital services, the free website allows

users to enter their destination and get routing options. In addition to directions, users can elect to have hotels, restaurants, gas stations and campgrounds appear throughout the map to help you plan your stops.

The AAA service — available online or through its app to members and nonmembers — also links to a useful map of the United States, showing state, county and citywide restrictions on things like mask-wearing, gathering sizes, dining limits and quarantine requirements.

The C.D.C. recommends motorists pump gas using a sanitary wipe, sanitize their hands afterward and bring their own food to avoid indoor areas.

“Journey management planning is a big thing,” Mr. Prout, of International SOS, said. “You need to have your rest stops planned, your vehicle in good order and limit the time driving at night.”



Mark J. Terrill/Associated Press

A simple road trip may be the safest option for most travelers.



Showing some love for Wuhan with umbrellas during the Oct. 1 national holiday in Wuhan, a city that was once synonymous with the devastation that the coronavirus could wreak.

With Propaganda Push in China, Wuhan Emerges as a Star

Focusing on Heroism Where Virus Originated

By VIVIAN WANG

They came out one after another, with flourishes and fanfare. A six-hour documentary series, showing the “heroic deeds of party members” and Wuhan’s “warriors in white coats.” A star-studded, 20-part drama, fictionalizing Wuhan’s doctors, delivery drivers and construction workers. Another pandemic show, set to swelling choral music, that viewers said left them choked with tears.

Wuhan, once synonymous with the devastation that the coronavirus could wreak, has become the subject of glowing paeans across Chinese media, lauded by officials as a symbol of the country’s resilience in the outbreak’s aftermath.

Propaganda agencies have churned out the television tributes to the city, where the outbreak first emerged, while the national Ministry of Culture and Tourism sponsored a new opera about its doctors. State news outlets have emphasized a rush of tourists to Wuhan, and at least one hospital recently welcomed business executives for a tour.

Wuhan is getting such attention as a city of heroes in part because it has truly made a remarkable recovery. Cases there and nationwide now hover near zero, as the United States and other countries still battle surges.

But the spate of acclamation is also part of a concerted campaign by the Chinese government to position Wuhan — and by extension China — as a global emblem of superior governance. It’s a propaganda push designed to help sand away any lingering public anger over the government’s costly missteps in the early weeks of the pandemic.

During the outbreak’s height in China, Wuhan was the epicenter of a rare outpouring of rage at the authorities and their attempts to conceal the virus. The recent narratives rewrite the experience, celebrating only the success and leaving little room for grief.

One of the new dramas shows the head of a hospital giving a rousing speech to his staff just as Wuhan is locking down in January — then cuts straight to April, when the outbreak has been controlled. The doctors, in slow motion, take off their masks and smile at the camera. A segment in another series ends with a grandmother discharged from the hospital, as her son announces that he and his ex-wife are getting remarried.

The instructions of China’s top leader, Xi Jinping, echo throughout the episodes. In reality, he was largely absent in the outbreak’s first weeks.

The shows are grounded in elements of the truth. Some of the protagonists in the fictionalized series are based on real people, such as a hospital leader who insisted on working despite battling his own chronic illness. And the programs show some of the pain of the early outbreak, when exhausted doctors limped through overwhelmed hospitals and comforted mourning relatives.



The opera “Angel’s Diary” in Wuhan, China, last month. It honors the doctors on the frontlines of the pandemic.



But that pain reliably turns into happy endings. There is no mention of the whistle-blowers who were punished for warning friends about the virus. Nor is there acknowledgment of the citizen journalists who documented the toll before being arrested — some of whom are still missing.

A tight censorship regime makes it difficult to judge public opinion in China, and many of the episodes have been lauded online. But some have also drawn rebukes on social media, with viewers criticizing the gloss on the city’s suffering and overly tidy story of victory.

Guo Jing, a social worker and feminist activist who has published her diary of

the Wuhan lockdown, said she worried the official narrative would prevent a true accounting of the crisis, and make its heavy toll seem acceptable.

“This kind of narrative, it really does recognize everyone’s contributions and sacrifices,” Ms. Guo said. “But it also erases all the pain that people experienced, and it also doesn’t ask, were everyone’s sacrifices really necessary?”

Officials were clearly thinking about how to tell Wuhan’s story from the outset of the crisis. The government commissioned one of the fictionalized shows, “With You,” in February, while people in Wuhan were still dying, and the screenwriter visited Wuhan in March, while the



The audience at the opera last month, left. The Chinese media and propaganda agencies have used Wuhan as a symbol of the country’s resilience in the outbreak’s aftermath.

city was still under lockdown. (Three days before the screenwriter arrived, a viral video showed a Wuhan resident yelling out her window at a visiting official, “Everything is fake!”)

“Reflect China’s feats and achievements in fighting the epidemic with language and details that normal people can understand and feel,” an official with the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television said of the show’s mandate, according to local media.

The shows fit into a broader narrative of triumphalism, which has been bolstered by China’s efforts to restart its economy. A few dozen executives of multinational companies visited Wuhan

recently, ostensibly to discuss future business opportunities, but they also toured a hospital and offered copious praise for China’s response to the epidemic. Louis Vuitton last month made Wuhan the first stop of a new traveling exhibition.

Wuhan and its residents have good reason to celebrate after a brutal, 76-day lockdown that left the city emotionally scarred and economically damaged. The city, with its packed pool parties and crowded amusement parks, is now proof of the country’s broader recovery — and China is grateful.

Wang Zhiyi, a 30-year-old artist, said that when he passed by hospitals in the city, he often saw flowers and other thank-you gifts left outside.

When the outbreak began, Mr. Wang was in Shanghai for work and had trouble finding a place to stay; people shied away from his Wuhan license plates and Wuhan ID card. Now, when he leaves Wuhan, people express admiration or sympathy when they find out where he is from.

“Everyone knows that Wuhan is the safest place now,” he said, referring to the city’s epidemic control measures.

But the propaganda efforts have also elicited anger from people who see the authorities’ elisions and carefully curated details as an effort to deny what the public saw for itself.

One of the new dramas, “Heroes in Harm’s Way,” drew fierce criticism online for suggesting that women did not contribute to the fight against the virus. After a different documentary series, produced by the state broadcaster, did not mention Li Wenliang, the doctor who was punished for warning friends about the virus and then later died of it, internet users condemned the omission.

“It’s almost a little bit too soon — it’s still a really raw issue,” Maria Repnikova, a political scientist at Georgia State University who has studied Chinese propaganda, said of the Wuhan tributes.

The speed with which the new shows were produced highlighted the government’s desire “to shape this discourse quicker, more efficiently, on more platforms,” she added.

Some residents said they saw the scars of the outbreak all around them, alongside the signs of recovery.

Sophia Huang, a lawyer, said that taxi drivers she met often complained about how bad business was, and still worried about a fresh outbreak erupting. One of her friends had fallen seriously ill with the virus and spent time in one of Wuhan’s temporary hospitals.

When she visited a courthouse recently, she overheard a man telling a judge he wanted to sue a hospital for turning his father away during the epidemic.

“I think many Wuhan people are still living in a kind of pain,” Ms. Huang, 35, said. “We’re not actually as successful as the media says.”

She would gladly watch an objective documentary about the outbreak that took stock of both the government’s victories and its mistakes, she said. “But obviously that is not possible right now.”

Matilda Aguayo Viani, 10, lives in Pampa Guanico, a town with only seven year-round residents.



THE WORLD THROUGH A LENS

Patagonia Schools Bind Isolated Communities Together

At the onset of the coronavirus pandemic, with travel restrictions in place worldwide, we began this series, in which photojournalists help transport you, virtually, to some of our planet's most beautiful and intriguing places.

Photographs and Text by ANDRIA HAUTAMAKI

Known for its soaring, glacier-capped Andean peaks and its labyrinth of fjords, Magallanes — in southernmost Patagonia — is Chile's largest but second least populated region. Daily existence here requires tenacity and resilience, and community life within the isolated villages is facilitated in part by an unlikely source: a network of rural schools.

Last year, more than 275,000 Chilean students attended one of the country's rural schools. Half of these schools were led by a sole teacher who instructed multiple grade levels inside a single room. Many of the schools also include gymnasiums, libraries, cafeterias or computer rooms — resources that benefit the broader community.

After coordinating with local educational authorities and teachers, and with the blessing of the students' parents and guardians, I spent over a month last year traveling to five such schools.

The areas I visited exemplify the diversity of lifestyle found in the remote corners of Chilean Patagonia. Some of the communities rely on ranching or peat extraction, some on fishing, some on tourism. Many of the schools themselves are off-the-grid, powered by a combination of diesel generators and wind or solar energy. When winter temperatures dip below freezing, gravity-fed water systems and water pipes can ice over for days or even weeks. Wood-burning stoves heat many of the classrooms.

Getting to these areas can be an arduous undertaking. Villa Puerto Edén, for example, a remote hamlet on



Wellington Island, was a 27-hour trip from the mainland. Because of the staggered schedule of the ferry, I had to wait ten days to catch the next boat out.

Reaching Pampa Guanaco, a hamlet on the archipelago of Tierra del Fuego, also required a ferry ride — in addition to a three-hour drive on a gravel road.

At the end of my stay, when it came time to return to mainland Chile, the port had closed because of high winds. I was left stranded on a blustery shore, surrounded by white-capped waves. Several hours later, the wind let up just enough for the ferry to resume crossing the Strait of Magellan.

Classroom instruction in these rural communities is provided from preschool through eighth grade. After eighth grade, students must relocate during the school year to the closest city, which could be hours, or days away. There, they often live with either a parent or extended family, or even a host family, in order to attend high school.

Cynthia Almonacid Molinet, who is 36, teaches 11 students — representing six distinct grade levels — at a school in Cerro Guido.

The school sits on a livestock ranch in view of Torres del Paine National Park and is often surrounded by gauchos on horseback. Classroom instruction is sometimes interrupted by the pattering of hooves from passing flocks of woolly sheep.

One of the many advantages of the rural educational environment “is being able to study the parts of a plant and then being able to go out into the environment to find concrete examples in nature,” Ms. Almonacid said.

But working in small, isolated communities is also uniquely demanding. “Teachers who are in rural schools must enjoy living in extreme areas,” Ms. Almonacid said, adding that the management of multigrade classrooms — with students at a variety of levels and abilities — is a constant struggle.

The coronavirus pandemic has upended educational routines all around the globe, and many schools in Chile have pivoted to remote learning. But rural Chilean schools face particularly difficult challenges now, not the least of which is the lack of consistent internet and telecommunication networks.

“Not all students have access to the internet, a computer or a telephone,” Ms. Almonacid said. “And parents, due to limited schooling, find it difficult to help their children with their homework.”

Enrollment in schools here fluctuates from year to year — as students graduate, or as families come or go. But rural schools continue to serve aspiring marine biologists, artisan boat builders, bilingual tour guides and veterinarians. And despite the difficulties introduced by the coronavirus pandemic, these students' professional dreams will continue to be kindled by daily contact with the natural world, coupled with the freedom to embrace curiosity and creative problem-solving.

Andria Hautamaki is an American photojournalist and writer who lives in southern Chile.



The rural school in Puerto Edén, the red and white structure at right, has just 16 students. It is accessible only by sea.



Benjamín Sanchez Hernandez, 7, of Cerro Guido with his pony, Spirit un Corcel Indomable.



Cynthia Almonacid Molinet, 36, teaches 11 students across six grades at a school in Cerro Guido.



Near Cerro Dorotea. More than 275,000 attend one of the region's rural schools.



Inside a home near Seno Obstrucción, a coastal village south of Puerto Natales.



The four students of Seno Obstrucción playing together on a frozen pond during morning recess.

Recent Attacks in France Point to a Threat Beyond Extremist Networks

This article is by **Norimitsu Onishi**, **Constant Méheut** and **Layli Foroudi**.

PARIS — All were unknown to police intelligence officials. None pledged allegiance to a terrorist group, and no group claimed them as members. None stated any political agenda. Signs of radicalization, if at all visible, were expressed on social media. And they came armed with little more than knives.

The three young men behind recent terrorist attacks that have shaken France present a difficult challenge to the French authorities — isolated, self-radicalized individuals, rather than Islamist extremist networks — raising tough questions about whether the broad measures the government has taken in response are the right ones.

Unattached to any group, harder to track and with an often obscured, hair-trigger propensity for violence that needs just the right spark, they are a far cry from the well-orchestrated and synchronized assaults in the wave of terrorism that swept France half a decade ago. Involving sophisticated planning and weapons, the past attacks killed and injured hundreds and were claimed by the Islamic State and an Al Qaeda affiliate.

They were also different from this week's attack in Vienna, which was carried out in the name of the Islamic State by an Austrian national already convicted of trying to join the organization in Syria.

"It's a personal jihad, religious and without demands," said Bernard Squarcini, a former head of the French domestic intelligence services, adding that France was confronted with "a new generation" of Islamist extremists.

In the past year, all seven Islamist extremist attacks in France, including the most recent three, have been carried out by individuals unknown to the intelligence services, who used unsophisticated weapons and had no clear links to terrorist groups, said Jean-Charles Brisard, director of the Center for the Analysis of Terrorism, a Paris-based research organization.

The latest, Brahim Aouissauoui, 21, arrived late last month in the southern city of Nice just weeks after leaving Tunisia with other migrants on a boat from his hometown, the port city of Sfax. Armed only with a knife, he killed three people at the Notre-Dame basilica in Nice before lunging at police officers while yelling, "Allahu akbar." Hospitalized with serious wounds and also suffering from Covid-19, he has yet to be interrogated.

In his hometown, family and friends said that Mr. Aouissauoui migrated to Europe looking for better opportunities. After dropping out of school, he did odd jobs, went to clubs, drank and smoked

Norimitsu Onishi and Constant Méheut reported from Paris, and Layli Foroudi from Sfax, Tunisia.



MAURICIO LIMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A memorial, above, for the victims of the Oct. 29 attack in Nice, France, which left three people dead. At left, a public tribute to Samuel Paty, a professor who was beheaded last month in Paris.



DMITRY KOSTYUKOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

hashish. In the past year, he grew more serious and started to pray, though family and friends said he showed no signs of radicalization.

"He spoke like everyone else in the neighborhood, he is not someone politicized, he didn't talk about political parties or anything," said Karim Hamzi, a friend of Mr. Aouissauoui. "He would just say, 'This country is going into a wall. The best thing to do in this country is to leave.'"

Following the collapse of the Islamic State in Syria, this new generation of extremists has emerged in a "jihadist atmosphere" prevalent on some social media sites and around some European cities, said Gilles Kepel, a French political scientist who is an expert on Islam and the Arab world.

In an environment that emphasizes "cultural ruptures" — pitting a radical, Salafist Islam against the West but also against moderate brands of Islam — these young men become radicalized, he said, and will act with the right spark.

"Without this atmosphere, there wouldn't be a spark," Mr. Kepel said. "Without a spark, there wouldn't be an attack either."

In the recent attacks, the spark was the republication of caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad by the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo, which led to huge protests overseas, including in Pakistan. Mr. Kepel said that videos showing protesters "brandishing enormous knives" appeared to have influenced the man behind the first attack.

According to the French authorities, Zaher Hassan Mahmood, a 25-year-old man who arrived in France from Pakistan several years ago to look for work, repeatedly watched such videos before buying a butcher knife and stabbing two people outside the former offices of Charlie Hebdo in Paris on Sept. 25.

News of the stabbing appeared to push into action an 18-year-old refugee of Chechen descent, Abdoullakh Anzorov, who grew up in France and, in recent months, had become active on extremist social media sites. On the same day of the stabbing, Mr. Anzorov began looking for the addresses of individuals who had offended Islam, according to an analysis of his deleted Twitter account by Le Monde.

Eventually, he settled on a middle-school teacher whose showing of Charlie Hebdo caricatures in a class on freedom of expression had angered many Muslim parents and students. Armed with a knife and two pellet guns, he beheaded the teacher, Samuel Paty, on Oct. 16.

"In these last three attacks, there's an absence of political demand but just a religious demand," Wassim Nasr, a journalist specializing on the jihadist movement and an author of a book on the Islamic State, said, adding that the assailants were "fanatics" rather than "jihadists."

The religious anger, stemming from the republication of the caricatures, has enlarged the pool of potential terrorists, Mr. Nasr said, adding that it played into the jihadist movement's narrative that all Muslims are concerned by their fight.

But instead of acknowledging the exclusively religious fanati-

Questions on how to confront 'a personal jihad, religious and without demands.'

cism behind the attacks, the French government has given them a political dimension, he said.

"That becomes counterproductive," he said.

The French government has said that the main threat comes from "Islamist separatism," what it describes as a homegrown radical Islamist network that has mounted a challenge to France's strict secularism. In response to the recent attacks, the French authorities have cracked down on Muslim individuals and organizations they have described as Islamists.

Olivier Roy, a political scientist

Teacher's Display of Cartoon In Netherlands Classrooms Leads to a Series of Threats

By **ELIAN PELTIER** and **CLAIRE MOSES**

A month after a teacher in France was beheaded for showing caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad to his class, fears are growing in the Netherlands that the ripple effects of the attack are spreading in that country.

On Friday, an 18-year-old woman in the Dutch city of Rotterdam was arrested on suspicion of making online threats against a high school teacher who had displayed in his classroom a cartoon supporting Charlie Hebdo, the French satirical newspaper that had originally published the Muhammad caricatures.

Local media on Thursday reported that another teacher was threatened after he showed a cartoon depicting Muhammad during a class about free speech at a high school in the city of Den Bosch.

"Actions in relation to freedom of speech in schools in Rotterdam and Den Bosch have led to unrest and even threats," two Dutch education ministers wrote in a letter to Parliament to register their dismay. "To intimidate and threaten teachers cannot be tolerated in any way," the ministers, Arie Slob and Ingrid van Engelshoven, wrote.

At the center of the incident at the Emmauscollege high school in Rotterdam was a picture of a cartoon posted on a classroom wall by a teacher several years ago that was shared on social media. The cartoon depicted a decapitated person wearing a shirt labeled "Charlie Hebdo" sticking out his

Constant Méheut contributed reporting from Paris.

tongue at a bearded man holding a sword, with the word "immortal" below it, according to the Dutch newspaper NRC.

Joep Bertrams, a Dutch political cartoonist, drew the cartoon in January 2015, when Charlie Hebdo was targeted by assailants angered by its caricatures of Muhammad in a terrorist attack in Paris that killed 12 people.

Pictures of the cartoon in the Rotterdam classroom were posted on Instagram and Snapchat, and circulated among students, attracting some angry attention. "If this isn't removed quickly then we're going to deal with this differently," read a caption under one picture that showed the cartoon in the classroom on Instagram.

It was not clear if this comment involved the 18-year-old woman who was arrested, but not named, as the authorities did not specify in the nature of the threat she is accused of making. The post has been deleted, but was pictured as a screengrab in the Dutch media.

The woman was arrested on suspicion of having posted a message on social media that "incited others to commit criminal offenses against the school and teacher," the police said.

The incident came after Dutch schools held memorials on Monday for Samuel Paty, the teacher who was killed in France last month.

The incidents in France and the Netherlands underline the growing tensions between governments in the region that are taking a hard line on issues such as free speech, and their many citizens of Muslim faith who have found material like the caricatures produced by Charlie Hebdo and



PETER DEJONG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

the language used to defend them deeply offensive.

After Mr. Paty's killing, French authorities waged a crackdown against Muslim individuals and groups that has unsettled many in the community. President Emmanuel Macron's interior minister, a hard-line right-wing politician who once suggested that Islam needed to be "totally assimilated to the Republic," has been the leading figure in that effort.

In a letter to parents on Tuesday, Emmauscollege high school said "the context around the cartoon completely disappeared" as it was circulated on social media. NRC reported that some students

A woman is arrested after making a post on social media.

at the school, which includes a large number of Muslims, mistakenly believed that the cartoon depicted Muhammad.

"The consequence is that threats were made," the letter said. "We find these threats unacceptable."

In an interview, Mr. Bertrams, the Dutch cartoonist, said his drawings depicted a terrorist, not Muhammad.

"I act against fanatics within a religion that do things that I don't agree with," Mr. Bertrams said about his cartoons. "I never drew cartoons of the prophet, and I suppose I will never do, even if I could, because I respect religion."

In Rotterdam, the police increased surveillance around Emmauscollege, and Dutch officials urged teachers to report any threats or intimidation.

The threats have alarmed officials in the Netherlands for their similarities with the events that took a deadly turn in France last month.

Mr. Paty, a 47-year-old history

teacher, faced a backlash from offended students after he showed the Charlie Hebdo caricatures in a class on freedom of expression. Mr. Paty later apologized, but an angry father complained about him in videos he uploaded on social media. An 18-year-old teenager who saw the videos went on Oct. 16 to the middle school where Mr. Paty taught, and killed him in the street after he left school.

"What happened in France has gathered a lot of attention, we are taking these threats very seriously," said Lillian van Duijvenbode, a spokeswoman for the Rotterdam police.

Dutch media and Mr. Slob, one of the education ministers who wrote a letter to Parliament, said the teacher in Rotterdam, who has not been named, had gone into hiding. Emmauscollege refused to comment on the teacher, and the police declined to comment on his whereabouts.

Officials in France said a core pillar of the country, its public education system, had been targeted

at the European University Institute in Florence and a specialist in Islam, said that the French government's response was inappropriate given the new nature of the threat.

"The government's mistake is to think that this type of radicalization, which seems almost mystical to me, is the result of a religious indoctrination," he said.

But Mr. Brisard of the Center for the Analysis of Terrorism said, "They act alone, but they're not disconnected."

To fight this new wave of terrorists, France must eradicate extremist networks, which are "natural and logical intermediaries in the process that leads to violence," and widen France's intelligence-gathering capacity by involving the local police and officials, he added.

Mr. Squarcini, the former head of domestic intelligence, said that tracking individuals with no links to terrorist groups posed a new challenge to the country's intelligence services, adding that they must now try to understand signals mostly on social media.

"We need to sort it out intelligently and perform a finer analysis," he added. "We're less good at doing that."

It was not clear how Mr. Aouissauoui, the Tunisian behind the attack in Nice, arrived in France.

After leaving Sfax on Sept. 19 on a boat with other migrants, he spent several weeks on a ship used by the Italian authorities to quarantine arrivals to prevent the spread of the coronavirus, family and friends said.

Ahmed Tahri, 25 and from Sfax, shared a room with Mr. Aouissauoui on the ship but was sent back to Tunisia. He said that Mr. Aouissauoui mostly kept to himself aboard the ship.

"He would wake up in the morning, pray, eat," Mr. Tahri recalled, adding that Mr. Aouissauoui often borrowed his phone to call home, occasionally read the Quran and exercised in their room.

A close friend in Sfax, Ahmed Kiid, said that in calls from the ship Mr. Aouissauoui did not speak about politics, but only about his plans to go to France, where he said he could find work and other people from Sfax.

"He wanted a car, a smartphone like other people his age," said his mother, Gamra, who told him not to go.

The mother and other family members spoke on the veranda of their home in a neighborhood where broken bricks and tiles littered a dusty road. They said that Mr. Aouissauoui used to sleep in the living room with several of his nine siblings.

Mr. Aouissauoui left Tunisia without informing his family, only calling from Italy. After getting off the quarantine ship, he worked on an olive farm and bought new clothes and the smartphone he wanted so badly, his family and friends said.

On his Facebook account, he posted a photo of himself posing with his new phone. A line above the photo read: "Allah knows that we are not here for this mortal world."

Officials expressed alarm after a teacher who displayed a cartoon supporting the French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo received online threats.

by the attack on Mr. Paty. And authorities there as well as in the Netherlands other countries, have vowed to defend freedom of expression, encouraging teachers to discuss the killing of Mr. Paty with their students.

Since the attack, French authorities have reported several other related incidents. Jean-Michel Blanquer, the French education minister, said a minute of silence held in memory of Mr. Paty in French schools on Monday had been disturbed on a number of occasions. And earlier this week, a teacher in a Paris suburb filed a complaint after she said she heard a man threatening to "avenge the Prophet" and target teachers near a primary school.

Rens Goedknegt, a history teacher at a high school in the Dutch city of Haarlem, said Mr. Paty's killing and the incident in Rotterdam had been discussed widely at his school.

He said that he had talked about Mr. Paty's murder with his students and that a lot of them found "it hard to understand why such a cartoon would be hurtful." But, he added, "it was a good view into how other kids would have found it offensive."

Mr. Bertram, the cartoonist, said caricatures needed to be contextualized when showed to students. The attacker he represented in 2015, he said, was covered in black, a clothing reminiscent of those worn by Islamic State fighters who were making headlines at the time.

"A cartoon is very useful to explain problems in societies, because its simplicity makes it very easy to understand it," Mr. Bertrams said. "The danger is, because of the simplicity, misunderstanding can also happen very easily."

Election in Myanmar Becomes a Reckoning for a Troubled Democracy

By HANNAH BEECH and SAW NANG

The politics of Myanmar were once cast as a simple morality tale: an imprisoned lady with flowers in her hair battling a clutch of generals who massacred and imprisoned pro-democracy activists.

Recent events have muddled that narrative. As the country heads into a general election on Sunday, the vote will serve not only as an appraisal of a fragile democracy, but also as a referendum on its civilian leader, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

Myanmar is now mentioned overseas in the same breath as Darfur or Sarajevo, for its military's ethnic cleansing of Rohingya Muslims. In an international court last year, Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi, still with flowers in her hair, defended Myanmar against accusations of genocide.

Her government, studded with former political prisoners, has emulated some of the repressive tactics of the military leaders who locked her up, censoring and jailing peaceful poets, students and Buddhist monks. Some of the young activists running as opposition candidates in Sunday's elections have been arrested on the kind of questionable charges the military junta once wielded.

Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi, 75, and her National League for Democracy, which has been sharing power with the military for five years, are likely to prevail in the polls. Even with a pandemic raging, early voting among older citizens has been enthusiastic. Some have carried images of Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi, the daughter of an independence hero, with them into polling stations, like a charm.

But the fact that the health of Myanmar's democracy remains so linked to a single woman has frustrated many politicians, who accuse the National League for Democracy of failing to build the kind of institutions needed for democracy to fully take root in the country.

"We have sacrificed our lives to have a democratic country, but now we are losing hope because of the ruling party," said U Ko Ko Gyi, a former student leader and political prisoner for 17 years. He for-

Hannah Beech reported from Bangkok and Saw Nang from Yangon, Myanmar.



Supporters of the National League for Democracy carrying a lighted portrait of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Myanmar's civilian leader.

mally broke from Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi last year and formed the People's Party, which is fielding candidates for the first time on Sunday.

Waiting in the wings is the military, which still controls the most important levers of power and is waging war against ethnic minorities, who make up roughly one-third of the nation's population. In 1962, a rabidly nationalist general launched a coup against a government overwhelmed by ethnic strife. A half century of military rule followed.

Senior Gen. Min Aung Hlaing, the army's commander in chief, has hinted to insiders that he might like to be president, a position that will be decided by Parliament by March 2021. Given that the army chief commands one-quarter of the national legislature, which is reserved for military officers, and the three top cabinet po-

sitions, along with a fighting force of some 350,000 soldiers, it could be hard to deny the general his wishes.

"He is the leader of the strongest institution in Myanmar and if he becomes president, the country will be better," said U Thein

'Now we are losing hope because of the ruling party.'

Tun Oo, a spokesman for the Union Solidarity and Development Party, which represents the army's interests. "Only a few people have bad reviews of him."

In Myanmar's frontier lands, where the country's ethnic minorities are concentrated, the mili-

tary is unwelcome. So is Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi, whose promise to bring peace and national reconciliation has been undercut by intensifying conflict between the military and ethnic armies fighting for autonomy from the state, as well as by widespread disenfranchisement.

Last month, more than 1.5 million registered voters out of an electorate of about 37 million people were disenfranchised when polls were canceled in their districts before Sunday's election. The national election commission said open fighting between the military and various ethnic armies made balloting impossible.

"If the ethnic armed groups agree to solve the problem without weapons, then ethnic minorities will get the chance to vote and choose ethnic members of Parliament as they like," said U Myo Nyunt, a spokesman for the

ruling National League for Democracy.

Daw Tin Mar Aung was once a stalwart of the National League for Democracy, serving as a personal aide to Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi and traveling with her as she collected human rights awards around the world. But Ms. Tin Mar Aung is now running as a candidate for a political party representing the Rakhine ethnicity in a state plagued by armed conflict. Ethnic parties had expected to profit from the National League for Democracy's slide in support since its landslide victory in 2015.

The electoral commission's cancellation of the vote in parts of Rakhine State robbed her of 80 percent of her constituency, Ms. Tin Mar Aung said.

"It's not fair, it's not right, but at least I have 20 percent to work for," she said. "Other candidates have lost their entire constituency

so those voters have no rights at all. I'm really sorry because this is not democracy."

Another million or so Rohingya Muslims, many of whom fled a brutal ethnic cleansing campaign three years ago, never enjoyed any hope of voting in these elections. Many now live in cramped refugee settlements in neighboring Bangladesh, after their villages were burned down, while others have been confined to internment camps.

On the eve of the elections, Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi appears to have retained her popularity among those who view her as a kind of goddess of democracy. While dozens of new political parties are fielding fresh candidates, none have the organizational breadth of the National League for Democracy, which grew from the ashes of a crushed student movement in 1988.

Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi's fans say that it is impossible in just five years for a civilian leader — especially one still forced to share power — to sweep away the ills of decades of a military dictatorship that battered the nation's health and education systems and gutted the economy.

Supporters say that Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi, who serves as the nation's state counselor because she is precluded from the presidency by the military-drafted constitution, must tread carefully. On Tuesday, General Min Aung Hlaing, the army chief, implied that the election commission was under the influence of the National League for Democracy, and complained of numerous missteps in the election process.

A government spokesman hit back, accusing the army commander of fomenting instability and violating the Constitution. On Thursday, just three days from the election, the military released a statement reminding the public that it was the nation's "guardian."

In a video posted on Facebook the same day, Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi defended her government and the country's democratic progress.

"As most politicians have said, the system of democracy is not flawless but it's the best one among the systems invented by the people," she wrote. "Even in a longtime democratic country, there are problems with elections."

Details Are Scant, but Australia's Target Is Clear in First Foreign-Meddling Arrest

By YAN ZHUANG

MELBOURNE, Australia — When the Australian authorities announced the first arrest under the country's new foreign interference laws this week, they said little about what the suspect was accused of doing, and nothing at all about the country on whose behalf he was believed to have worked.

The implication, though, was clear. The man is a prominent member of Chinese-Australian community who has been involved with one of the country's major political parties. And he was charged under sweeping national security legislation, passed in 2018, that is widely seen as targeting China, and that Beijing has called an insult.

The arrest of the man, Di Sanh Duong, known as Sunny, follows a breakdown in the relationship between China and Australia, which in recent weeks has been marred by signs that Beijing is crimping purchases of an array of goods from Australia's export-dependent economy.

Tensions have simmered for years as Australia has complained of meddling by China in its politics, universities and media. In September, Chinese news outlets reported that Australian intelligence officials had raided the homes of four Chinese journalists, and that the visas of two Chinese scholars had been canceled by the Australian government on national security grounds.

But given Australia's initial restraint in describing the case against Mr. Duong, it was unclear whether the arrest would aggravate the strains even further.

"China was very concerned about the passing of the legislation, because the rhetoric at the time was very targeted at China," said Yun Jiang, the editor of the China Story blog at the Australian National University and the director of the China Policy Center.

"In this instance," she added, "we don't have much of that rhetoric in the official government position — officially they haven't even named the country yet — so right now we don't have that tough rhetoric on China."

If Australia says more about the case and publicly ties it to Beijing, however, "China may react more strongly," Ms. Jiang said.

Mr. Duong was charged in Melbourne on Thursday with "preparing for a foreign interference offense" and was granted bail. Mr. Duong, 65, who faces up to 10 years in prison if convicted, is of



Di Sanh Duong, who is known as Sunny, in Australia in June.

Vietnamese-Chinese heritage and has served on the boards of a number of Chinese-Australian community groups.

The federal police said in a statement that they had taken "preventative action to disrupt this individual at an early stage." They said Mr. Duong's arrest had come after a yearlong investigation and raids in October on a number of properties associated with him.

A person familiar with the details of those raids said the police were investigating whether Mr. Duong had sought to influence the acting federal immigration minister, Alan Tudge, and whether the conduct was on behalf of or in collaboration with the Chinese Communist Party.

In June, Mr. Tudge appeared with Mr. Duong at an event at which Mr. Duong presented a donation to a Melbourne hospital on behalf of a community association he leads, the Oceania Federation of Chinese Organizations From Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Mr. Tudge has not been accused of any wrongdoing.

The person familiar with the raids, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because of the sensitive nature of the case, was also involved in the fund-raising, and said the money was intended to help the hospital fill a shortage in personal protective equipment as a result of the coronavirus pandemic.

Mr. Duong wrote in an autobiography last year that he had been a member of the conservative Liberal Party since 1992 and

had helped establish a local branch, of which he had been chairman.

The autobiography also says that Mr. Duong was born in Vietnam and fled the country's Communist regime in 1979 for Melbourne, where he quickly got involved in the "public welfare activities and undertakings of the Australian-Chinese communities."

Ms. Jiang, of the Australian National University, said the case against Mr. Duong was significant because it would be the first time that the government had provided examples of what constituted foreign interference under the new laws.

Still, she said it remained unclear exactly what that would be, based on the limited information about the case — namely, that Mr. Duong had made the donation with the government minister present, and that one of the groups he helped lead was part of the United Front Work Department, the Chinese Communist Party unit that controls policy toward overseas Chinese.

The Australian media reported that another director of the group, the China Council for the Promotion of Peaceful Reunification, had been Huang Xiangmo, who was barred from Australia on national security grounds about two years ago.

Ms. Jiang noted that membership in a community group in itself was not enough to prove that Mr. Duong had engaged in illegal activity, and that the group was still legal in Australia.

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THE SATURDAY PROFILE

A Beneficiary Studies the Impact of Having a Monthly Basic Income

By SALLY McGRANE

BERLIN

FROM his Berlin start-up's brick loft offices, Michael Bohmeyer led the way past a brewery-turned-art space to a makeshift cafe. “If we’re going to sit outside, I might even get coffee,” mused the 36-year-old tech entrepreneur and founder of the “My Basic Income” website. “After all, you have to enjoy life a little bit.”

Enjoying life is no trivial matter for the slight, serious Mr. Bohmeyer, whose experimental, grass-roots platform has thus far given more than 650 randomly-selected people 1,000 euros a month, around \$1,165, for a year, no strings attached, just to test a thesis. Namely, that what people need to thrive in a rapidly changing world is not more money, but more security, and that an unconditional basic income — a monthly sum to cover living expenses that, if implemented, would be paid by the government and received by everyone — could enable this.

The idea has resonated in Germany, a wealthy country that spends about a third of its G.D.P. on a robust social welfare system. In the six years since Mr. Bohmeyer first called for donations “My Basic Income” has raised about €8 million, thanks to 140,000 or so private donations of sums as low as a couple of euros a month.

Now, after publishing a best-selling book detailing the experiences of a cross-section of recipients — ranging from a hotel heiress to a homeless man — Mr. Bohmeyer and his team have partnered with the respected German Institute for Economic Research in Berlin for a study. As part of this “pilot project,” 120 randomly chosen people will receive €1,200 a month for three years, while a larger control group of “statistical twins” in similar life situations will not. When the call for applications went out in August, a million people signed up in less than three days.

For Jürgen Schupp, a senior research fellow at the institute and professor at the Free University in Berlin, the number of applicants was less surprising than the number of donors. “I was most fascinated by the people giving money for free to support this idea,” said Mr. Schupp, who will oversee the pilot project. “We have a lot of ‘citizen scientists’ counting birds, and giving the data to scientists. This is like that, but for civil society.”

Given its small size, the study does not look at macroeconomic impacts, like how taxes would be affected or if a basic income would lead to inflation. Rather, it



LENA MUCHA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

‘I don’t want to sound esoteric. But the message is, ‘We are all equally worthy of existing.’

MICHAEL BOHMEYER

will simply try to find out whether unconditional monthly payments lead to statistically significant changes in recipients’ behavior and feelings.

“Is there a dark side?” asked Mr. Schupp, noting that in recent polls, about half of Germans found the concept good, in principle. “Or do we get confirmation of the nice stories in Michael Bohmeyer’s book?”

To write “What Would You Do? How an Unconditional Basic Income Changes Us,” Mr. Bohmeyer and his co-author took 10 days to travel through Germany interviewing 24 recipients, past and present. In keeping with the findings of other basic income studies around the world, they found that few people quit their jobs. Many, however, made changes — a social worker used the extra resources to retrain as a hospice worker, and a just-treading-water retiree quit her off-the-books job waitressing for an exploitative boss and got another job at a better restaurant.

Regardless of whether they

spent the money, saved it, invested it or gave it away, almost all of the people interviewed said the monthly payments just made them feel better. “We call it the ‘basic income feeling,” said Mr. Bohmeyer, who drew on the writings of psychologists, sociologists, economists and the philosopher Hannah Arendt to try to make sense of what he was hearing from recipients. “The subtext of the unconditionality is, ‘We as a society believe you are OK.’”

He added: “I don’t want to sound esoteric. But the message is, ‘We are all equally worthy of existing.’”

PROponents of a basic income argue that it offers ballast in times of global upheaval, like the pandemic. For Judith Philipp, a 40-year-old freelance stage and costume designer in Berlin, the basic income she received this year kept her from changing careers after all her work was initially canceled.

“This gave me a lot of freedom to sit tight,” she said, as theater

projects came back sooner than expected. “Also, I have a 4-year-old daughter, preschool was closed, and we actually got to enjoy the time together.”

Calling Mr. Bohmeyer’s book “moving,” Olli E. Kangas, who helped run the Finnish government’s recent basic-income experiment, said he was enthusiastic about the coming German pilot project. “Basic income is a simple concept, but rather a complex thing,” Mr. Kangas said. “We need more experiments.”

Mr. Bohmeyer credits his own willingness to jump into an experiment like this one to the way he grew up. Born outside Berlin in the last years of the German Democratic Republic, Mr. Bohmeyer was 5 when the wall fell. But a do-it-yourself spirit lived on, in his household. “Today, you would call it ‘disruptive,’” said Mr. Bohmeyer, with the hint of a smile. “But in the G.D.R., you couldn’t buy everything, or get certain things, so you had to do a lot yourself. For me, it was totally normal to have an idea, then build it.”

Top Leader Of Wine Group Has Resigned Amid Scandal

By JULIA MOSKIN

The chairman of the Court of Master Sommeliers resigned on Friday, after a week of turmoil at the most elite organization in American wine.

In a New York Times report last week, 13 women went public with accusations of sexual misconduct in the court’s highest ranks.

On Thursday, as calls mounted for the entire 13-member board to resign, The Times sent questions to the chairman, Devon Broglie, about a woman who said he had an inappropriate sexual relationship with her in 2013, before he became chairman. At the time, she was a junior-level candidate for the master sommelier title and he was her mentor.

The woman, Marie-Louise Friedland, said she approached The Times instead of the organization because she did not trust the board’s ability to investigate itself. Mr. Broglie, 46, the top wine buyer for the Whole Foods Market chain, has been chairman since 2018, and was a member of the group’s ethics committee, which handles sexual misconduct claims.

“All I want is an organization whose board follows their own rules,” Ms. Friedland said, “and that steps in to protect people from experiencing this again.”

Mr. Broglie referred questions about his relationship with Ms. Friedland to the court on Thursday. By Friday evening, neither he nor the court had responded to multiple requests for comment.

A spokeswoman for the court said Mr. Broglie’s resignation as chairman was unrelated to Ms. Friedland’s allegations, and was already under discussion when The Times approached the board on Thursday with questions about them.

In his resignation letter, Mr. Broglie wrote: “I deeply apologize to all the women whose lives and careers have been negatively impacted by the predatory actions of any Master Sommelier. I put my best effort forward in changing the course of the organization, I recognize that my effort fell short.”

All of the women who came forward to The Times have been candidates for the title of master sommelier, an honor conferred by the court after a long process of evaluations and exams, some of which are graded in secret. All of the men are master sommeliers who had the power to help, or hurt, the women’s progress.

Ten men have been suspended from court activities by the board, pending investigations into the sexual-misconduct allegations against them. Another, Geoff Kruth, had been accused by 11 women; he resigned from the court and forfeited his title.

Last week, the board apologized to the women and announced that it would hire an independent firm to “examine all allegations to the fullest extent possible.” That response did not satisfy many of the court’s members, many of whom called for Mr. Broglie and the entire board to resign on social media.

The court’s roughly 150 members have been invited to meet next Wednesday to weigh the future of the remaining board members. According to a Friday letter from the interim leader, Virginia Philip, the current board is conducting a search for a chief executive, has retained a lawyer to conduct sexual misconduct investigations, and strengthened the group’s nonfraternization policy.

The Times’s reporting showed that the board, past and present, has long been aware of a pattern of coercive sexual contact between masters and candidates, and that the rule about reporting sexual contact is widely disregarded.

Ms. Friedland said she was working at Restaurant Congress in Austin, Texas, in 2013 when she met Mr. Broglie. As one of the top wine buyers for Whole Foods Market, where he has worked since 2001, he was already a celebrity in Austin’s small wine community when he became a master sommelier in 2011.

At 25, Ms. Friedland was on the lowest rung of the master sommelier ladder: She had passed the introductory exam, and joined a study group to practice for the next level. Mr. Broglie offered to help her study for the tasting portion of the exam in private sessions at his home, she said.

Ms. Friedland, now 32, said that the tasting sessions soon proved to be preludes to sexual invitations. “At first I was flattered, but also very confused and afraid,” she said.

Eventually, they had sex twice, she said. (At the time, the court had no rules against such a relationship.)

“I forced myself in my head to treat it as a fling or relationship, to be able to wrap my brain around the interactions,” said Ms. Friedland. “But it never fit.”

She eventually left the sommelier profession and the court.

Ethiopia Launches Airstrikes Against Targets in Restive Northern Region

By DECLAN WALSH and SIMON MARKS

NAIROBI, Kenya — Ethiopia appeared to be careening toward civil war on Friday after Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed announced that government fighter jets had bombed targets in the restive northern region of Tigray, ignoring international pleas to step back from the brink.

Stores of missiles and other heavy weapons were destroyed in the airstrikes around Mekelle, the regional capital of Tigray, Mr. Abiy announced on state television, making no mention of casualties.

“The first phase of our operation has been fully completed,” he said.

Mr. Abiy, who won last year’s Nobel Peace Prize, launched the military operations in Tigray on Wednesday, accusing the ruling Tigray People’s Liberation Front of arming irregular militias and orchestrating an attack on a major federal army base in the region.

Since then, Mr. Abiy has imposed a state of emergency on Tigray, which borders Eritrea, and deployed federal military forces from across Ethiopia to the region. Internet and phone links to Tigray have been cut off, making it difficult to get an accurate picture of the situation there.

Tigrayan leaders have put on a show of defiance. “Tigrayans have full potential to destroy enemies far and near,” the regional president, Debretsion Gebremichael, told a local television station on Thursday.

Tensions have been growing since September when Tigray defied Mr. Abiy’s authority and held regional elections even as parliamentary voting in the rest of Ethiopia was postponed because of the coronavirus pandemic.

The confrontation escalated in October when Ethiopian lawmakers diverted federal funding from



EDUARDO SOTERAS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

In Tigray, during regional elections in September. The main government called the vote illegal.

the Tigrayan authorities as a means of punishment.

Now that the dispute has turned to fighting, Mr. Abiy risks a difficult campaign.

Tigray has a large paramilitary force and a well-drilled local militia, with up to 250,000 armed men, according to the International Crisis Group.

The region is also home to Ethiopia’s largest army base and, by some estimates, half the troops in Ethiopia’s Army, along with much of its artillery and other heavy weaponry.

The Tigray People’s Liberation Front is used to dominating Ethiopia. As a rebel group, it toppled a Marxist dictator in 1991 and went on to effectively rule the entire country for nearly three decades

until 2018, when Mr. Abiy came to power.

Its influence has declined steeply since then, and Tigrayan officials complain of being marginalized and unjustly accused of corruption and human rights abuses. Many were enraged by Mr. Abiy’s description of Tigray’s period of rule as “27 years of darkness.”

Mr. Abiy, for his part, views Tigrayan leaders as inveterate troublemakers still smarting from their loss of influence.

As the confrontation between the two sides escalated this year, public sentiment for secession from Ethiopia grew inside Tigray. But in turning to military action now, Mr. Abiy has set off an unpredictable conflict that risks spilling

over into the rest of Ethiopia, Africa’s second-most populous country.

The heaviest fighting so far has taken place in western Tigray, where federal military forces fighting alongside special forces units from the Amhara region have clashed with local Tigrayan units, two Western officials said.

One health worker in Abdurafi, on the border between Tigray and the Amhara region, said that 25 wounded soldiers had been admitted to a health facility in the town since Wednesday. Five of the wounded men died, according to the worker, who spoke on condition of anonymity so as not to anger Ethiopian officials.

The United Nations suspended food distributions this week to ref-

Escalating violence pushes a country toward civil war.

ugee camps along the border with Eritrea because travel has become so difficult in Tigray.

Sumananjali Mohanty, head of the Norwegian Refugee Council in Ethiopia, said her staff members at two camps in Tigray were safe but worried about imminent shortages of cash, fuel and electricity.

“I’m hoping the international community can come together to find a solution to this crisis so it doesn’t escalate any further,” she said.

There is little immediate prospect of that happening.

In his televised comments Friday evening, Mr. Abiy accused the leaders of Tigray of “criminal hubris and intransigence,” ignoring pleas from the United Nations and the United States, among others, to step back from the conflict.

Many outside observers worry that a full-fledged war in Tigray could spread into the rest of Ethiopia, where political and ethnic violence has risen sharply in the past year, or spill over its borders into neighboring countries.

Experts say there is also a danger that Mr. Abiy’s assault could strain the unity of the Ethiopian military.

In Addis Ababa, a senior Ethiopian official acknowledged that several army commanders had defected to Tigray during the first clashes on Wednesday.

But other officers had risen to take their places, the official added, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive information.

The government estimates that the operation in Tigray will last between three and six months, he added.

National

The New York Times



VIA MAURICE ASHLEY

‘Raging Rooks’ Star Altered Face of Scholastic Chess

By JOE LEMIRE

Shortly after returning from a disappointing finish in the 1990 national tournament, the coach for the chess team at Adam Clayton Powell Jr. Junior High School in Harlem asked one of the most talented players to help lead a return trip the following year.

“We’re ready,” the player, Charu Robinson, a 13-year-old prodigy, confidently told his coach.

The team, known as the Raging Rooks, labored all year, devouring chess strategy books and playing wherever they could — in a classroom, in a teammate’s lobby, at a local Burger King and even over the phone — before prevailing at the 1991 tournament. They tied Masterman Laboratory and Demonstration School in Philadelphia for first place, besting a field that included three-time defending champion Dalton, a private school on the Upper East Side.

The team became celebrities in their hometown and even landed on the front page of The New York Times. And it was Charu Robinson — the steadiest player among the Rooks — who helped lead the way.

“He just had a very focused, determined intentionality to his play,” said the coach, Maurice Ashley, the first Black grandmaster, calling Mr. Robinson one of his best two or three players on that team. “And so that leadership mattered, that he was up there, and he embraced it, and it skyrocketed us to winning that year.”

Mr. Robinson died suddenly on Oct. 13 at age 43, his family said, declining to say more than that he died of natural causes. His death dealt a blow to the city’s chess community, where he had remained a fixture and role model, having taught at Mott Hall, a middle school in Harlem (where he won another national championship, as assistant coach, in 1999), and later at Chess NYC, which offers private chess instruction, and at Success Academy, a network of charter schools.

“I wish we had more Charus,” said Debbie Eastburn, the chief executive of Chess in the Schools, a city nonprofit, for whom Mr. Robinson also taught.

Mr. Robinson is survived by his two sisters, Stacey and Aisha.

The early ’90s success of the Rooks, composed of Black, Latino and Asian students, changed chess in New York City. Until then, scholastic chess had been dominated by mostly white players from elite schools such as Dalton, Hunter College High School and Trinity.

“There was no clear evidence that chess could be an inner-city sport,” said Jerald Times, a self-taught master who is the chess director at Success Academy. “So when these kids showed up, these Raging Rooks, on the front page of The New York Times, it transformed the landscape of how we see inner-city chess.”

As many as 90 percent of participants at national tournaments were white at that time, Mr. Times estimated. The proportion of mi-



VIA MAURICE ASHLEY

Charu Robinson, above, helped his junior high school in Harlem win a national chess championship in 1991. Top, Mr. Robinson’s chess team, the Raging Rooks, studying moves in the 1990s.

norities has grown fourfold since, he said, to 40 percent, because of the example of the Raging Rooks and an I.B.M.-funded research study, the Margulies Report, that tied reading performance to playing chess.

“What that does culturally for the kids for whom Charu would be a role model is just unfathomable,” said David MacEnulty, the city’s first full-time public school chess instructor, whose own success teaching chess at Bronx Community Elementary School 70 inspired the movie “Knights of the South Bronx.” “I’ve seen it over many years, I’ve seen it literally change lives — I mean, totally transformed people. And Charu was a part of that.”

The Chess in the Schools program had begun placing chess teachers such as Mr. Ashley in schools in the mid-1980s. The attention surrounding the Raging Rooks attracted philanthropic donations.

Chess in the Schools grew to reach more than 100 schools in the 1990s and 2000s, offering semester-long instruction; today, it serves 48 schools, primarily those receiving Title 1 funding — granted to schools with a large share of students from low-income families — with full-year programming.

Kwadwo Acheampong, who sits on the nonprofit’s board of directors, said Mr. Robinson’s championship was key to the story of Chess in the Schools.

Mr. Acheampong, 36, whose South Bronx Middle School 118 team won the same national junior high tournament in 1998, called Mr. Robinson a young Jackie Robinson type of transformational figure for the sport.

“We knew about the Raging Rooks because they were kids who looked like us in a neighborhood that was nearby,” said Maliq Matthew, 40, who grew up in the

South Bronx.

Mr. Robinson matriculated on a full scholarship to Dalton, where his chess teammate was Joshua Waitzkin, the inspiration for the movie “Searching for Bobby Fischer,” and finished second in a national high school tournament in 1992. He attended the University of Maryland before transferring to John Jay College and earning his degree in criminology.

His friends remember Mr. Robinson for his deep voice, boisterous laugh, piercing eyes, analytic mind and deep love of New York sports.

Francis Idehen, whose family moved to Harlem during the late 1980s and 1990s, when crack and crime were surging in New York. Mr. Robinson and his mother, Ruth, lived a block away from four crack houses, she told The Times in 1991. Chess, however, “was a Camelot,” said Kasaun Henry, the captain of the Rooks who used to arrive at school an hour early to practice and avoid trouble on the street.

“There was a sanctuary when we’d get into that classroom,” Mr. Idehen said. “We’d sit around the chessboard while Maurice instructed us. Chess was pretty

‘There was a sanctuary when we’d get into that classroom.’

FRANCIS IDEHEN, a former teammate of Charu Robinson

much all that mattered in those moments.”

As an adult, Mr. Robinson became a teacher for some of the better players in the city and helped inspire a new generation.

“He’s a big reason why I teach chess today,” said Chris Johnson, now a chess instructor at Success Academy Hudson Yards. He added: “Every week, when he would come to the school, we would look forward to it — not only because he was teaching us chess, he knew the culture. He knew the language. So he would always compare it to music or sports or different things like that.”

Mr. Robinson was proud of his Harlem roots.

“The cultural identity, the uniqueness, the pride, the talent, the history. It’s just a unique place,” he said on a video on YouTube. “If I was to do it all over again, I’d start right in Harlem again. I wouldn’t be who I was if I didn’t live here.”

People who were taught by or taught alongside Mr. Robinson remember how he often mixed hip-hop phrases with chess terminology.

“He never gave up his phraseology,” Mr. Henry said. “That was authentic, man. And that’s why he was one of the greatest ambassadors for chess, particularly for kids in Harlem.

“He is the proof,” he added. “Charu was the founding primary source that offering opportunities to Black kids in the hood can work.”

Mr. Robinson would often visit Success Academy’s main office seeking use of the corporate credit card to pay for tournaments. “He paid for them to go to every tournament available to them, and you best believe he’s not coming back on Monday empty-handed,” said Nana Alawiye, the school’s business operations manager. “If you see our trophy shelf, it’s ridiculous. And most of it is chess.”

Mr. Henry recalled a time as teens when he and Mr. Robinson anticipated seeing their teacher, Mr. Ashley, play a match against one of the local masters in the park. “That was like tickets to a Madison Square Garden Knicks game,” Mr. Henry said. In return trips to the park years later, Mr. Henry and Mr. Robinson, and Brian Watson, another member of the Rooks, became the draw. “Whenever they came to the park,” Mr. Matthew said, “they were celebrities.”

Upon Mr. Robinson’s death, Mr. Ashley scrolled through their text and Facebook message history. He was struck by the recurrence of a story that Mr. Robinson said had become a mantra whenever he faced adversity.

Late in the 1991 national tournament, the Raging Rooks needed to win three of their final four matches to ascend the leader board. After Mr. Robinson played an especially challenging game and won, Mr. Ashley shook his hand, looked him in the eye and repeated, “Good chess. Good chess.”

After Bannon Talks Violence, Lawyer Drops Him as Client

This article is by Benjamin Weiser, Michael S. Schmidt and William K. Rashbaum.

Stephen K. Bannon, the former adviser to President Trump who is known for his right-wing extremism, suggested on Thursday that the F.B.I. director and Dr. Anthony S. Fauci should be beheaded, and Twitter responded by banning one of his accounts.

On Friday, a prominent lawyer who was defending Mr. Bannon against fraud charges in federal court in Manhattan abruptly moved to drop him as a client, one person familiar with the matter said.

“Mr. Bannon is in the process of retaining new counsel,” the lawyer, William A. Burck, said in a brief letter to the court, giving no explanation.

Mr. Bannon could not immediately be reached for comment.

The loss of his white-shoe representation was just the latest setback for Mr. Bannon, 66, who has struggled for political relevance since losing his job at the White House eight months after Mr. Trump’s inauguration.

Most recently, in the final weeks of the presidential campaign, Mr. Bannon teamed with Rudolph W. Giuliani, the president’s lawyer, laboring to create a narrative that former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s son Hunter was corrupt, in a bid to harm Mr. Biden’s presidential campaign. The Biden campaign has vigorously denied the unsubstantiated allegations.

Since August, Mr. Bannon has been fighting the criminal charges lodged against him by federal prosecutors in Manhattan, the case in which Mr. Burck has been his lawyer.

Mr. Bannon was arrested on charges of defrauding donors to a campaign to privately fund a wall on the United States’ border with Mexico, one of Mr. Trump’s signature political promises.

The prosecutors have charged that Mr. Bannon and three co-defendants, while pledging publicly not to take any of the money raised for themselves, siphoned off hundreds of thousands of dollars to pay for travel, hotels, personal credit card debt and other expenses.

Mr. Bannon and the three co-defendants have pleaded not guilty to the charges. Mr. Burck’s letter asked that the next hearing in the case, which was scheduled for Monday, be postponed while Mr. Bannon found new counsel.

Mr. Bannon’s comments were made during a livestream of his online show “War Room: Pandemic.”

The video showed Mr. Bannon calling for violence against Dr. Fauci, the government’s top infectious diseases specialist, and Christopher A. Wray, the F.B.I. director. Both officials have become targets of pro-Trump pundits who accuse them of undermining the president.

“I’d actually like to go back to the old times of Tudor England,” Mr. Bannon said. “I’d put the heads on pikes, right? I’d put them at the two corners of the White House as a warning to federal bureaucrats: You either get with the program or you’re gone.”

Twitter banned an account belonging to Mr. Bannon on Thursday that posted video of his remarks.

“The @WarRoomPandemic account has been permanently suspended for violating the Twitter rules, specifically our policy on the glorification of violence,” a Twitter spokesman said.

A video of Mr. Bannon’s remarks also was removed from YouTube, said Alex Joseph, a YouTube spokesman.

“We’ve removed this video for violating our policy against inciting violence,” Mr. Joseph said. “Mr. Burck gave no reasons for seeking to sever ties with Mr. Bannon in the two-paragraph letter he submitted on Friday to the judge, Analisa Torres of Federal District Court, who must approve a change in lawyers.

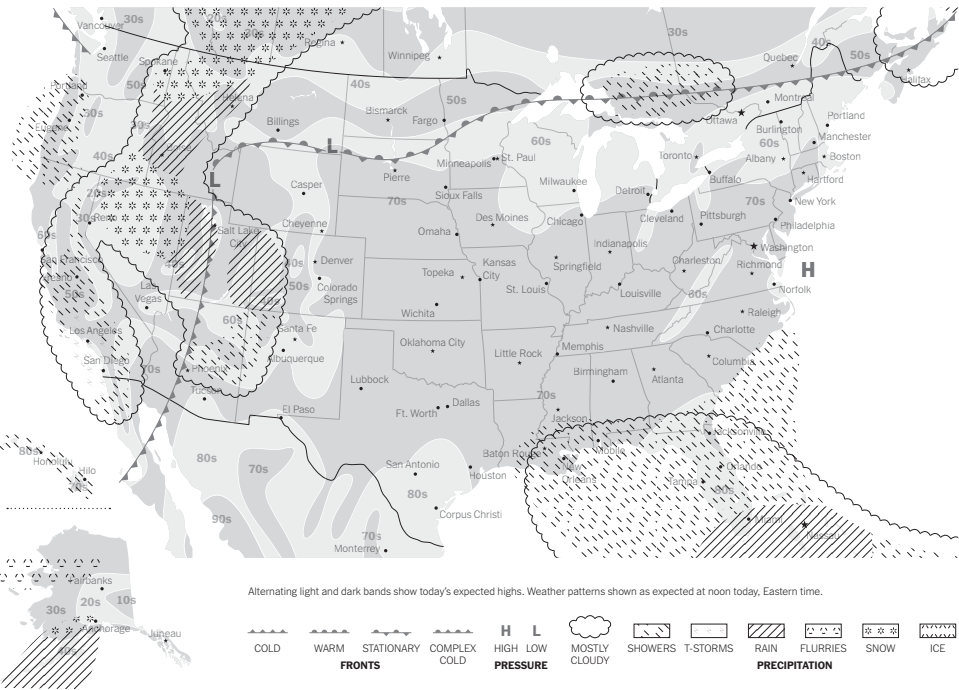
Stephen Gillers, a legal ethics expert at New York University School of Law, said speaking generally, “Lawyers will withdraw when a client’s behavior sabotages the lawyer’s work on the client’s behalf.”

Mr. Gillers said he did not know why Mr. Burck was seeking to withdraw from Mr. Bannon’s case, but he added: “Bannon’s public comments made Burck’s job more difficult. Burck was hired to fight the prosecutors and should not also have to do battle with his own client.”

Kate Conger contributed reporting.

Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



National Forecast

Sunshine, warmth and dry conditions from Texas to Maine. Some locations will challenge record highs for the date as a large area of high pressure will be in control, coupled with a big northward bulge in the jet stream.

In contrast, the western third of the nation will be dealing with much colder air. A storm will develop in the colder air and produce low-elevation rain and mountain snow from California to western Montana. For parts of Southern California, this will be the first rain since April or May. For

much of the Sierra Nevada and the mountains of Arizona, this will be the first snowfall of the season. A blizzard is forecast to evolve over parts of Montana and Idaho tonight.

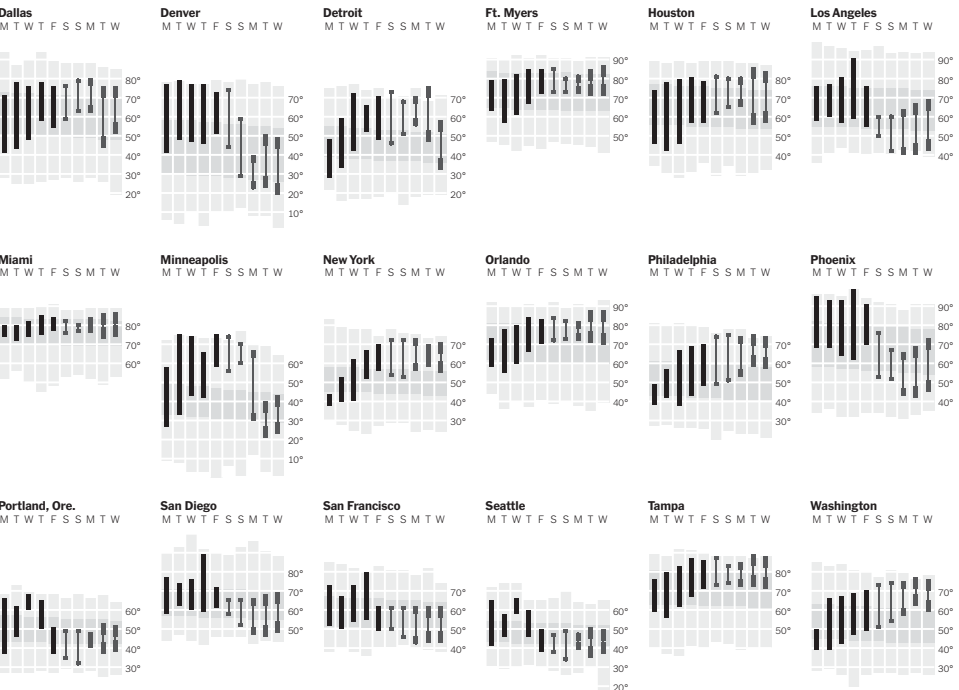
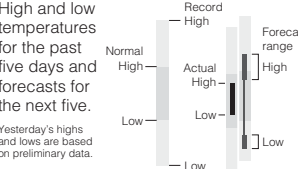
The southeastern corner of the nation is expected to be unsettled with clouds, spotty showers and brisk easterly winds. Above-normal tides and strong rip currents will persist along the Atlantic coast.

In the tropics, Eta will strengthen while moving over the northwestern Caribbean with an anticipated landfall on the south-

central coast of Cuba. After bringing heavy rain, high winds and flooding to Cuba into Sunday, the storm may head toward the Florida Keys or South Florida.

FOCUS: BLIZZARD CONDITIONS SUNDAY A powerful storm will move into North Dakota on Sunday. West of the storm track in the colder air there will be heavy snowfall. Strong winds will cause blowing and drifting of snow, which will lead to blizzard conditions over Montana.

10-Day Temperature Trends



Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C.....	Clouds	S.....	Sun
F.....	Fog	Sn.....	Snow
H.....	Haze	SS.....	Snow showers
I.....	Ice	T.....	Thunderstorms
PC.....	Partly cloudy	Tr.....	Trace
R.....	Rain	W.....	Windy
Sh.....	Showers	-.....	Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	70/ 56	72/ 54 S	72/ 53 S
Bridgeport	66/ 46	67/ 50 S	69/ 49 S
Caldwell	74/ 43 Tr	73/ 47 S	76/ 47 S
Danbury	70/ 42	76/ 45 S	72/ 44 S
Hill	66/ 49	67/ 48 S	68/ 47 S
Newark	73/ 49	71/ 48 S	73/ 49 S
Trenton	70/ 42	73/ 45 S	72/ 47 S
White Plains	69/ 47	72/ 47 S	71/ 46 S

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	70/ 46	71/ 43 PC	67/ 41 S
Albuquerque	71/ 50	68/ 46 W	60/ 42 S
Anchorage	24/ 21 0.01	27/ 25 Sn	34/ 27 Sn
Atlanta	75/ 60	74/ 63 PC	73/ 64 C
Atlantic City	71/ 51	72/ 50 S	69/ 52 S
Austin	79/ 52	82/ 58 S	82/ 64 PC
Baltimore	74/ 45	73/ 47 S	73/ 51 S
Baton Rouge	80/ 62	76/ 64 Sn	80/ 62 C
Birmingham	77/ 59	74/ 64 C	76/ 65 C
Boise	70/ 40	53/ 32 R	41/ 23 C
Boston	72/ 53	73/ 51 PC	67/ 49 S
Buffalo	63/ 54	72/ 50 S	66/ 50 S
Burlington	69/ 50	70/ 50 PC	66/ 47 S
Casper	66/ 48 Tr	66/ 40 W	50/ 14 W
Cedar Rapids	73/ 50	75/ 54 S	70/ 59 PC
Champaign	73/ 45	75/ 53 S	75/ 57 C
Charleston, W.Va.	71/ 42	76/ 43 S	75/ 42 PC
Charlotte	75/ 55	75/ 57 C	75/ 59 C
Chattanooga	74/ 52	75/ 56 C	78/ 60 PC
Chicago	74/ 53	76/ 55 S	72/ 61 PC
Cincinnati	70/ 44	72/ 50 S	74/ 53 S
Cleveland	69/ 50	77/ 49 S	70/ 53 C
Colorado Springs	74/ 50	70/ 45 W	60/ 34 W
Columbia, Mo.	74/ 49	74/ 53 S	74/ 62 C
Columbia, S.C.	77/ 60	79/ 62 PC	77/ 63 C
Columbus	68/ 42	73/ 48 S	74/ 53 S
Concord, N.H.	73/ 47	75/ 44 PC	68/ 38 S
Dallas-Ft. Worth	76/ 54	76/ 59 S	79/ 63 PC
Dayton	70/ 45	73/ 49 S	74/ 53 S
Denver	73/ 51	74/ 44 W	59/ 29 W
Des Moines	71/ 48	75/ 48 S	70/ 48 S
Detroit	71/ 48	73/ 46 S	68/ 51 S
El Paso	82/ 56	82/ 58 C	76/ 53 S
Eugene	57/ 36 0.02	51/ 30 R	48/ 25 S
Fairbanks	29/ 19 0.70	23/ 16 C	30/ 20
Fargo	63/ 39	62/ 53 PC	66/ 53 W
Fort Myers	85/ 72 Tr	85/ 73 W	80/ 73 T
Fresno	64/ 48	58/ 45 PC	54/ 36 Sh
Gainesville, Fla.	82/ 65 Tr	82/ 68 Sh	81/ 71 Sh
Grand Rapids	70/ 51	73/ 50 S	71/ 57 PC
Greensboro	73/ 50	72/ 55 PC	74/ 56 PC
Greenville, S.C.	73/ 54	72/ 58 PC	73/ 59 C
Harrisburg	74/ 45	74/ 45 S	74/ 48 S
Hartford	74/ 49	77/ 46 PC	72/ 44 S
Honolulu	86/ 75 0.01	86/ 74 Sh	85/ 75 Sh
Houston	79/ 57	81/ 62 PC	80/ 65 PC
Indianapolis	71/ 45	74/ 51 S	75/ 55 S
Jackson	77/ 61	78/ 65 C	79/ 63 PC
Jacksonville	79/ 68 Tr	79/ 68 Sh	80/ 70 Sh
Johnstown, Pa.	70/ 48	70/ 48 S	76/ 56 W
Kansas City	69/ 55	73/ 58 PC	75/ 63 C
Key West	81/ 77 0.04	81/ 76 R	81/ 76 R
Knoxville	71/ 45	75/ 51 PC	76/ 54 PC
Lansing	72/ 51	72/ 48 S	70/ 56 PC
Las Vegas	85/ 57	81/ 44 PC	55/ 39 PC
Lexington	68/ 45	73/ 52 S	75/ 55 PC
Little Rock	72/ 52	75/ 58 PC	74/ 59 PC
Los Angeles	76/ 55	60/ 50 R	60/ 42 Sh
Louisville	72/ 45	75/ 54 Tr	78/ 56 PC
Lubbock	68/ 49	73/ 53 PC	76/ 56 W
Madison	70/ 54	73/ 54 S	69/ 61 C
Memphis	74/ 56	78/ 63 PC	77/ 62 PC
Miami	84/ 77 0.10	82/ 76 R	80/ 77 R
Milwaukee	74/ 55	73/ 55 S	67/ 59 PC
Mpls.-St. Paul	75/ 58	74/ 56 PC	70/ 60 PC
Mobile	79/ 62	78/ 66 C	79/ 64 PC
Monterey, Calif.	59/ 48	58/ 48 PC	56/ 39 W
Nashville	72/ 47	77/ 57 PC	79/ 57 PC
New Orleans	76/ 67	79/ 68 Sh	77/ 67 C
Norfolk	70/ 57	68/ 56 PC	69/ 56 F
Oklahoma City	75/ 53	72/ 54 S	73/ 60 C
Omaha	77/ 57	79/ 55 W	73/ 60 W
Orlando	83/ 70	84/ 72 C	82/ 73 T
Philadelphia	70/ 48	74/ 49 S	75/ 51 S
Phoenix	91/ 70 0.01	76/ 53 PC	67/ 52 PC
Pittsburgh	68/ 41	74/ 42 S	71/ 46 S
Portland, Me.	71/ 49	69/ 46 PC	61/ 43 S
Portland, Ore.	51/ 55 0.20	49/ 35 PC	42/ 62 PC
Providence	71/ 50	75/ 48 S	70/ 46 S
Raleigh	74/ 55	75/ 57 PC	76/ 57 F
Reno	64/ 30	45/ 28 C	36/ 19 Sn
Richmond	73/ 49	72/ 52 PC	73/ 52 F
Rochester	68/ 53	73/ 47 S	68/ 47 S
Sacramento	64/ 41	61/ 40 PC	60/ 37 PC
Salt Lake City	74/ 54	67/ 38 R	43/ 29 Sn
San Antonio	76/ 56	80/ 62 PC	82/ 66 PC
San Diego	72/ 61	65/ 58 R	65/ 52 Sh
San Francisco	62/ 49	61/ 50 W	61/ 46 W
San Jose	62/ 49 Tr	61/ 46 PC	59/ 37 PC
San Juan	86/ 75 0.13	87/ 76 Sh	86/ 77 T
Savannah	81/ 68 0.01	80/ 68 PC	78/ 69 C
Seattle	50/ 38 Tr	47/ 38 PC	49/ 34 S
Shreveport	77/ 53	78/ 59 S	79/ 62 C

Sioux Falls	81/ 55	78/ 57 W	70/ 47 W
South Bend	73/ 49	77/ 50 S	73/ 57 S
Spokane	47/ 35 Tr	45/ 31 C	39/ 24 C
St. Louis	76/ 50	75/ 59 S	73/ 62 PC
St. Thomas	86/ 78 0.14	86/ 78 PC	86/ 78 T
Syracuse	71/ 49	75/ 45 S	70/ 44 S
Tampa	86/ 71	87/ 73 PC	83/ 74 T
Toledo	73/ 47	75/ 45 S	74/ 51 S
Tucson	89/ 70	82/ 50 W	69/ 50 S
Tulsa	76/ 53	75/ 58 S	76/ 64 C
Virginia Beach	73/ 58 Tr	66/ 56 PC	67/ 56 F
Waco	76/ 53	78/ 58 S	77/ 63 PC
Washington	70/ 49	73/ 51 S	74/ 54 S
West Palm Beach	85/ 79 Tr	83/ 77 Sh	80/ 78 T
Wichita	73/ 55	72/ 56 PC	73/ 62 W
Wilkes-Barre	71/ 44	75/ 43 S	72/ 46 S
Wilmington, Del.	70/ 44	73/ 46 S	75/ 49 S

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Abidjan	86/ 77 0.17	86/ 77 T	86/ 77 PC
Algiers	84/ 68	80/ 55 PC	81/ 58 PC
Cairo	77/ 64	76/ 63 C	77/ 65 PC
Cape Town	61/ 55 0.34	66/ 57 W	65/ 51 R
Casablanca	73/ 54	73/ 52 PC	73/ 52 S
Dakar	88/ 79	87/ 79 S	89/ 79 W
Johannesburg	79/ 73	86/ 85 S	87/ 76 PC
Nairobi	75/ 63 0.36	78/ 69	79/ 61 PC
Tunis	73/ 59	76/ 60 S	79/ 57 S

Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Almaty	60/ 27	65/ 38 S	70/ 40 PC
Auckland	72/ 61 0.03	72/ 63 R	67/ 55 PC
Baghdad	82/ 62	82/ 58 C	83/ 62 C
Bali	89/ 76 0.01	88/ 76 PC	88/ 78 S
Bangkok	80/ 74 0.01	84/ 76 PC	86/ 73 PC
Beijing	66/ 38	66/ 31 W	59/ 22 PC
Damascus	70/ 52	70/ 55 PC	70/ 53 PC
Dhaka	88/ 63	86/ 63 PC	88/ 65 PC
Hanoi	79/ 70	83/ 69 PC	84/ 66 S
Hong Kong	82/ 71	84/ 73 S	81/ 70 PC
Islamabad	85/ 51	84/ 53 PC	83/ 54 PC
Jakarta	84/ 75 0.23	90/ 77 T	90/ 77 T
Jerusalem	64/ 56 0.02	66/ 56 PC	69/ 57 PC
Karachi	93/ 64	94/ 66 PC	94/ 66 PC
Kolkata	86/ 64	86/ 63 PC	86/ 64 PC
Kuala Lumpur	90/ 75 0.30	87/ 76 T	87/ 76 T
Lahore	86/ 54	85/ 55 PC	84/ 56 PC
Manila	91/ 79	88/ 78 PC	87/ 78 T
Melbourne	61/ 47 0.07	61/ 45 PC	70/ 52 S
Mumbai	89/ 73	94/ 76 PC	95/ 75 PC
New Delhi	87/ 56	86/ 57 PC	84/ 56 PC
Riyadh	86/ 56	88/ 65 PC	88/ 65 PC
Seoul	63/ 46 0.01	65/ 41 S	51/ 29 S
Singapore	73/ 65	73/ 66 PC	69/ 51 PC
Singapore	88/ 79 0.03	86/ 78 T	87/ 77 T
Sydney	67/ 54 0.09	66/ 57 PC	66/ 56 PC
Taipei City	90/ 73 0.10	90/ 72 R	73/ 68 R
Tehran	76/ 55	74/ 54 PC	69/ 48 PC
Tel Aviv	73/ 65	73/ 64 PC	79/ 64 PC
Tokyo	61/ 54	71/ 62 PC	70/ 55 PC
Yokohama	54/ 43	56/ 31 PC	42/ 28 PC

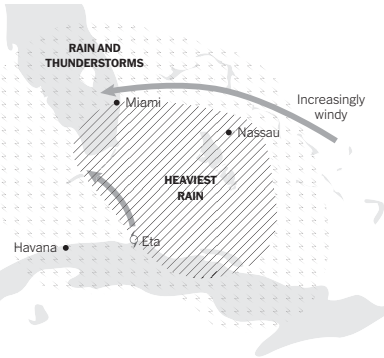
Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	54/ 45	57/ 42 S	59/ 47 C
Athens	64/ 58 0.04	68/ 58 S	68/ 58 PC
Barcelona	66/ 58 0.18	67/ 54 R	68/ 53 PC
Belgrade	54/ 43	55/ 40 R	59/ 39 S
Brussels	54/ 34	52/ 46 S	63/ 50 Sh
Budapest	54/ 37	53/ 37 S	52/ 39 S
Copenhagen	56/ 46	52/ 43 PC	51/ 44 PC
Dublin	52/ 39	54/ 51 C	57/ 53 R
Edinburgh	56/ 37	52/ 41 PC	50/ 42 PC
Frankfurt	52/ 32	54/ 37 S	54/ 40 PC
Geneva	55/ 43	59/ 47 S	60/ 46 Sh
Helsinki	50/ 41	52/ 36 S	42/ 32 PC
Istanbul	61/ 55 0.11	62/ 56 S	64/ 57 PC
Kiev	65/ 37 0.01	62/ 41 PC	50/ 37 PC
Lisbon	59/ 57 0.43	66/ 59 R	65/ 56 R
London	52/ 35 0.03	60/ 49 F	58/ 52 Sh
Madrid	66/ 48 0.10	60/ 45 Sh	60/ 46 C
Moscow	49/ 37 0.29	49/ 41 PC	49/ 29 R
Nice	68/ 55	68/ 56 S	66/ 56 Sh
Oso	58/ 46	44/ 35 Sh	43/ 37 S
Paris	54/ 39	64/ 53 PC	63/ 49 PC
Prague	50/ 30	48/ 33 PC	44/ 34 PC
Rome	72/ 53	68/ 49 S	67/ 50 S
St. Petersburg	47/ 42	52/ 38 S	45/ 33 S
Stockholm	58/ 43	51/ 40 S	45/ 37 PC
Vienna	52/ 34	54/ 37 S	50/ 37 S
Warsaw	50/ 41 0.04	52/ 40 PC	52/ 39 S

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	87/ 73	87/ 75 C	87/ 76 PC
Bermuda	64/ 58	67/ 72 PC	71/ 72 PC
Calgary	39/ 30	30/ 16 Sn	20/ 8 Sn
Edmonton	32/ 28	27/ 11 Sn	18/ 4 S
Guadalajara	80/ 47	81/ 51 S	82/ 52 PC
Havana	82/ 73 0.12	81/ 72 Sh	82/ 72 R
Kingston	86/ 77 0.02	82/ 77 R	83/ 77 T
Manitoba	86/ 77	86/ 76 Sh	85/ 75 Sh
Mexico City	72/ 44	74/ 48 PC	76/ 49 PC
Monterrey	81/ 53	81/ 57 S	83/ 59 S
Montreal	63/ 48	65/ 50 PC	64/ 49 S
Nassau	84/ 76 0.04	82/ 74 R	82/ 75 R
Panama City	82/ 77 0.01	84/ 76 PC	85/ 75 PC
Quebec City	63/ 36 0.02	54/ 39 PC	45/ 42 C
Santo Domingo	86/ 73 0.01	85/ 73 Sh	84/ 74 T
Toronto	70/ 48	70/ 47 PC	66/ 49 S
Vancouver	48/ 43	49/ 34 S	47/ 33 S
Winnipeg	54/ 34	44/ 39 C	54/ 28 C

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Bogota	69/ 45	66/ 51 Sh	67/ 51 C
Buenos Aires	75/ 63	73/ 66 S	74/ 64 S
Caracas	91/ 74 0.36	86/ 74 Sh	88/ 75 PC
Lima	69/ 61	67/ 61 S	68/ 61 S
Quito	71/ 43	70/ 52 Sh	70/ 52 Sh
Recife	86/ 75 0.06	87/ 79 PC	86/ 78 PC
Rio de Janeiro	73/ 65	76/ 69 PC	79/ 72 PC
Santiago	82/ 50	91/ 53 PC	84/ 53 PC
Sao Paulo	72/ 55	78/ 57 PC	79/ 63 PC

Highlight: Eta Approaches Florida Sunday

Eta is expected to be a tropical storm as it approaches South Florida on Sunday. Rain and thunderstorms are expected for the southern portion of the state through the day. Onshore, easterly winds will increase, which will cause rough surf and coastal flooding across the southeast coast of Florida. Rainfall will become heavy later in the day, especially from Miami to the Keys.



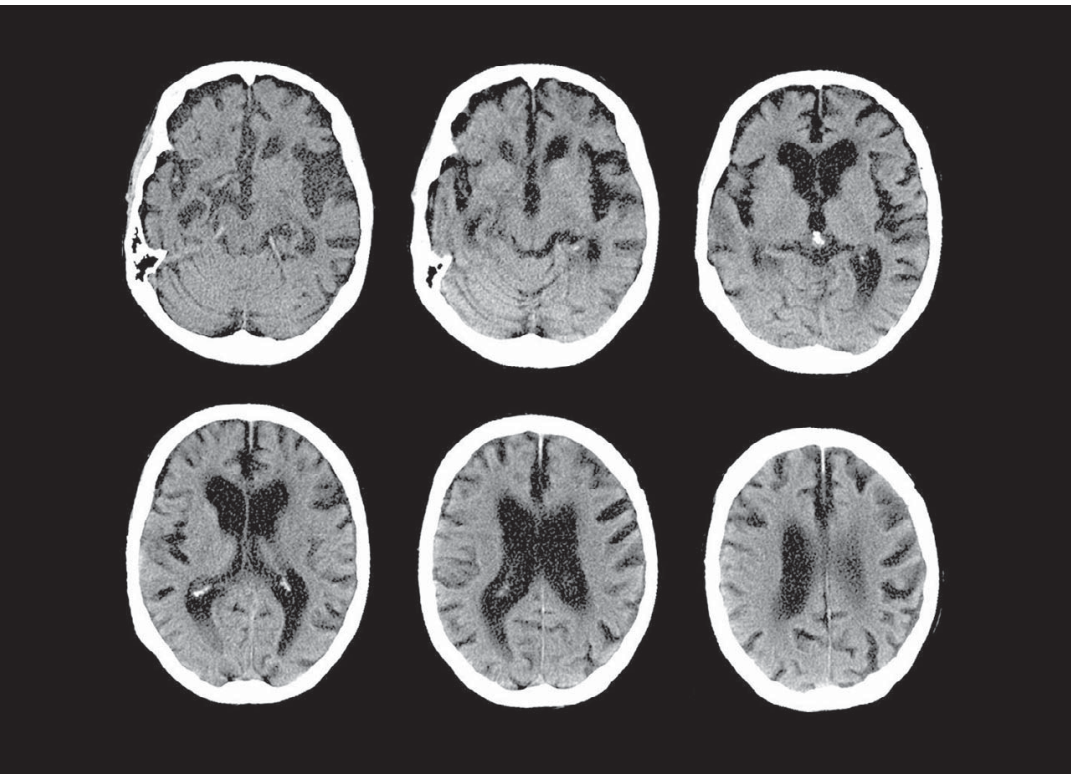
The New York Times

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C.T. scans of the brain of a 74-year-old with Alzheimer's disease. Biogen's drug, aducanumab, was dealt a setback on Friday.

Stunning No-Confidence Vote for Alzheimer's Drug

By PAM BELLUCK

A federal panel of medical experts on Friday sharply rejected arguments in support of a closely watched new Alzheimer's drug, saying the evidence wasn't persuasive enough for the drug to be approved as the first new Alzheimer's therapy in nearly two decades.

The nonbinding vote by an advisory panel for the Food and Drug Administration does not mean the agency won't approve the drug, aducanumab, made by Biogen. But it signals that many experts in the field are not convinced of its effectiveness, another major setback in the long journey to find a treatment for Alzheimer's that works.

In a seven-hour virtual meeting on Friday, the panel showed pointed skepticism, which contrasted markedly with a presentation by Dr. Billy Dunn, director of the Food and Drug Administration's office of neuroscience, who said that "the evidence supporting its approval appears strong."

Overwhelmingly, the panel members disagreed.

"There are literally a dozen different red threads that suggest concerns about the consistency of evidence," said one member, Dr. Caleb Alexander, a professor of epidemiology and medicine at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health. He said he could not understand "how the F.D.A. could conclude that there is substantial evidence of effectiveness."

Ten of 11 panel members voted that it was not "reasonable" to consider the research presented as "primary evidence of effectiveness of aducanumab for the treatment of Alzheimer's disease." The 11th member said he was uncertain.

It was a stunning turn of events, coming two days after the F.D.A. had posted documents that suggested most of the agency's reviewers considered the evidence convincing, a development that sent Biogen's stock price soaring by more than 40 percent. Most of Friday's votes occurred after the financial markets had closed.

Nearly six million people in the United States and roughly 30 million globally have Alzheimer's disease, a number that is expected to more than double by 2050. Aducanumab — which is given as a monthly intravenous infusion and would cost about \$50,000 per year — would be the first medication to address cognitive decline by attacking the core biology of Alzheimer's disease. It has been considered a potential medication for the roughly two million Americans estimated to have mild Alzheimer's-related cognitive de-

cline.

The drug's path through clinical trials has been rocky, with only one of two Phase 3 trials showing positive results — and those results emerged only from an analysis of additional data after the trials were stopped in March 2019 by an independent data monitoring committee because the drug didn't appear to be working.

The F.D.A. usually requires two convincing studies for a drug to be approved, although the agency has made exceptions, especially for severe or deadly diseases for which little or no treatment is available.

Samantha Budd Haeberlein, a Biogen senior vice president and head of neurodegeneration development, told the panel that "the benefit-risk profile for aducanumab is favorable and potentially prolonged patients' inde-

F.D.A. approval is still possible, despite a panel's rejection.

pendence by several months."

Dr. Dunn of the F.D.A. said the single positive study was "highly persuasive" and provided "substantial evidence of the effectiveness of aducanumab." The positive study found that patients on a high dose of the drug, 10 milligrams per kilogram, declined at a rate 23 percent slower than in people who had received a placebo. Dr. Dunn said the agency's analysis concluded that the results of the negative study, which did not show that patients on the high dose benefited, did not contradict the successful study or show that the drug was ineffective.

Some members of the panel were uncomfortable with the idea that successful results of one trial should be considered over unsuccessful results of the other trial.

Dr. Scott Emerson, a professor emeritus of biostatistics at the University of Washington, said that having to ignore the negative study was like saying, "I'm going to, you know, choose two numbers and only tell you what the highest number I chose was."

He later added that he was "very disturbed" that the F.D.A. seemed to be "starting out with the assumption that the treatment works" and then trying to figure out why the other study failed. He said the agency's position seemed "weighted" toward the drug company, adding that "all of this was just terrifically one-sided."

Of the 11 voting committee

members, eight said that they did not even think the single study provided strong evidence that the drug was effective. Two members said they were uncertain.

The only member to vote that the single study's evidence was convincing was the committee chairman, Dr. Nathan Fountain, a professor of neurology at the University of Virginia.

"I think there are lots of small issues with it, but the trends, I think, are all in the right direction," he said.

There are currently five medications that have been approved to treat cognitive and memory symptoms, but they typically delay decline for only several months. The last new drug was approved in 2003, and none of them address the specific disease process of Alzheimer's.

Aducanumab is a monoclonal antibody that targets the beta amyloid protein that clumps into plaques in Alzheimer's disease. Many other drugs that reduce amyloid accumulation have not been shown to slow symptoms, so if aducanumab is determined to be effective, it would support a long-held theory that attacking amyloid can help if done early enough in the disease process, when memory and cognitive difficulties are still mild.

Some experts said that if aducanumab were approved, it would make it less likely that patients would participate in studies for other Alzheimer's drugs that might ultimately work better.

"I think if we approve something where the data is not strong that we have a risk of delaying, good treatment and effective treatment for more than a couple of years — for many years," said another panel member, Dr. Joel Perlmutter, a professor of neurology at the Washington University School of Medicine. "I think there's a huge danger in approving something that turns out not to be effective."

Several experts, including a Mayo Clinic neurologist who was a site investigator for an aducanumab trial, have said that another rigorous clinical trial should be conducted before a decision is made on whether the drug should be made available.

"Perfection may be the enemy of the good, but for aducanumab, the evidence doesn't even rise to 'good,'" the neurologist, Dr. David Knopman, wrote in a comment submitted to the panel before Friday's hearing. Dr. Knopman, who sits on the advisory panel but was recused from the hearing because of his work with the aducanumab trials, added, "Contrary to the hope that aducanumab will help

Alzheimer patients, the evidence shows it will offer improvement to none, it will harm some of those exposed, and it will consume enormous resources."

Documents posted by the F.D.A. in advance of the hearing gave the impression that most of the agency's reviewers were satisfied that data from the successful trial was strong and that safety issues, which mostly involved a type of brain swelling, were manageable.

But another F.D.A. reviewer expressed concerns in the documents. Tristan Massie, an F.D.A. mathematical statistician, wrote that he believed "there is no compelling, substantial evidence of treatment effect or disease slowing and that another study is needed."

Other experts said that the degree of benefit the trial claims to show is slight, slowing cognitive decline over 18 months by half a point on a 3-point cognitive scale, the primary measurement in the study.

"My view is that it doesn't do anything," said Dr. Michael Grecius, medical director of the Stanford Center for Memory Disorders.

At Friday's hearing, Dr. Budd Haeberlein said that based on another scale used as a secondary measure, the drug might prolong decline in a person's daily functional ability by seven months in an 18-month period.

Patients' groups argued forcefully for approval, citing the devastation caused by the disease.

"While the trial data has led to some uncertainty among the scientific community, this must be weighed against the certainty of what this disease will do to millions of Americans absent a treatment," the Alzheimer's Association wrote in a letter to the panel. "The potential to delay decline would be denied to millions, and that time lost for those spouses, partners, moms, dads, grandmothers, grandfathers, aunts, uncles, friends, and neighbors cannot be recovered. In the balance of these considerations, we urge approval."

Friday's meeting also featured poignant comments from several people with Alzheimer's or their family members.

"After years of great disappointment in drug trials for those in the throes of urgency as our minds decline, please offer us some hope," said Greg O'Brien, a former journalist who wrote a book about his experience with Alzheimer's. "Please recommend approval of this drug therapy. Sorry I can't properly pronounce the name of the Biogen drug, it's just too complicated for me."

OBITUARIES

An obituary on Sunday about the actor Sean Connery misidentified the tartan he wore when he was knighted in 2000. It was a Mac-Lean tartan, not MacLeod.

Errors are corrected during the press run whenever possible, so some errors noted here may not have appeared in all editions.

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Gene-Editing Tool Can Mar Embryo Codes, Study Says

By KATHERINE J. WU

A powerful gene-editing tool called Crispr-Cas9, which this month won the Nobel Prize in Chemistry for two scientists, can cause serious side effects in the cells of human embryos, prompting them to discard large chunks of their genetic material, a new study has found.

Administered to cells to repair a mutation that can cause hereditary blindness, the Crispr-Cas9 technology appeared to wreak genetic havoc in about half the specimens that the researchers examined, according to a study published in the journal Cell on Thursday.

The consequences of these errors can be quite serious in some cases, said Dieter Egli, a geneticist at Columbia University and an author of the study. Some cells were so flummoxed by the alterations that they simply gave up on trying to fix them, jettisoning entire chromosomes, the units into which human DNA is packaged, Dr. Egli said.

"We're often used to hearing about papers where Crispr is very successful," said Nicole Kaplan, a geneticist at New York University who was not involved in the study. "But with the amount of power we hold" with this tool, Dr. Kaplan said, it is crucial "to understand consequences we didn't intend."

Crispr-Cas9, a scissorslike chemical tool that can precisely cut and customize stretches of genetic material, such as human DNA, stoked international controversy in 2018 when He Jiankui, a Chinese scientist, used the technology to yield the world's first gene-edited infants. The experiment was widely condemned as irresponsible and dangerous — in large part because many of the ways in which Crispr-Cas9 can affect cells remain poorly understood. Dr. He was found guilty of conducting illegal medical practices in China and sentenced to three years in prison.

The new paper's findings further underscore that "it's really too soon to be applying Crispr to reproductive genetics," said Nita Farahany, a bioethicist at Duke University who was not involved in the study.

Crispr-Cas9 treatments have already been given directly to people to treat conditions like blindness — a potential cure that affects that patient, and that patient only. But modifications made to sperm, eggs and embryos can be passed to future generations, raising the stakes for any mistakes made along the way.

Although scientists have been tinkering with genomes for decades, Crispr-Cas9 can accomplish a precise type of genetic surgery that other tools cannot.

Scientists can use Crispr-Cas9 to home in on a specific region of the genome and snip it in two. Sensing trouble, the cell rushes to heal its genetic wound, sometimes using a similar-looking stretch of nearby, intact DNA as a template as it stitches the pieces back together. This gives researchers an opportunity to splice in a tailored-made template of their own, in the hopes that the cell will incorporate the intended change.

In 2017, a team of researchers led by Shoukhrat Mitalipov, a geneticist at Oregon Health and Science University in Portland, reported that human embryos carrying a mutation could be coaxed into this process without a synthetic template. The researchers generated embryos from a union between two cells: a sperm carrying a mutation that can make it harder for the heart to pump blood, and an egg with a healthy version of the gene. Dr. Mitalipov and his team used Crispr-Cas9 to cut the broken copy of the gene to see if the intact version would guide its repair. They reported the experiment a success and published it in the journal Nature.

"In principle, this could be a way to correct a mutation in a human embryo" that has only one broken copy of a gene, Dr. Egli said.

But the new findings could cast some doubt on the 2017 work, Dr. Egli added.

The researchers of the Cell study focused on a different mutation — one that causes hereditary blindness and affects a different part of the genome — but adopted a similar setup. Using donated sperm containing a mutation in a gene called EYS, they fertilized eggs that had normal copies of EYS, then sent in Crispr-Cas9 to snip the mutation.

Several of the cells managed to sew the Crispr-cut pieces of DNA back together with a few minor changes, Dr. Egli said.

But about half the embryos seemed unable to cope with the trauma of the break. The genetic damage failed to heal, eventually forcing cells to tear off and toss aside large chunks of the chromosome that harbored the mutated EYS. In some cells, the entire chromosome was lost.

"That is not a correction," Dr. Egli said. "That is a vastly different outcome."

Instead of gently goading the cell into editing the genetic "text" at which it was targeted, the Crispr machinery gouged irreparable gaps in cells' DNA, said Maria Jasin, a geneticist at Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center and another author of the study. The negative consequences of this, she added, were disproportionately disastrous. "They were talking about trying to repair one gene, and you have a substantial fraction of the genome being changed," Dr. Jasin said.

Dr. Egli and Dr. Jasin said that this probably happened in Dr. Mitalipov's 2017 paper as well, but it went unnoticed. After Dr. Mitalipov's team carried out their Crispr-Cas9 treatment, they could no longer detect the mutation in embryos. But Dr. Egli and Dr. Jasin noted that, technically, dumping or destroying a huge segment of a chromosome would have wiped out evidence of the mutation as well. Dr. Mitalipov and his team, they said, might have mistaken a deletion for an edit.

Dr. Mitalipov disagreed with this interpretation, and he said the new paper's conclusions were not fully backed up by the necessary data. "They don't have evidence to show these are deletions," he said. Far more complex experiments, he said, would be needed to conclusively distinguish a "corrected" chromosome from an absent one.

Dr. Kaplan, of New York University, said she found the new paper's findings convincing. And she, like all of the other experts who spoke with The New York Times, echoed a crucial sentiment: that Crispr-editing embry-



GREGOR FISCHER/DPA, VIA ALAMY

A Crispr-Cas9 experiment.

Crispr use prompted repair in some cells, but defects in others.

os in the clinic must remain a far-off reality, if it is ever approved at all.

"At this point, it's too dangerous," Dr. Jasin said. "We're just not sure which way things are going to go."

The U.S. government does not permit the use of federal funds to conduct research on human embryos. Dr. Egli's team sought private funding from the New York Stem Cell Foundation and the Russell Berrie Foundation Program in cellular therapies to run its experiments.

Other Crispr-based technologies exist that could circumvent several of the issues the team identified. For example, some researchers have developed techniques that allow them to make less drastic cuts to the genome and tinker with just one genetic letter at a time.

Given his team's findings, Dr. Egli also floated the idea that the blunter version of Crispr-Cas9 could someday be deployed as a sort of molecular bomb: shredding and eliminating unwanted, extra chromosomes when they appear in embryos.

Dr. Farahany, of Duke University, urged caution. The new study, she said, only builds upon the notion that scientists will need to walk, not run, in developing Crispr tools for reproductive medicine.

"We have a long way to go," Dr. Farahany said. "Until we can figure out what the off-target effects are, and how we can control for them," embryo editing of any kind "would be deeply unethical."

Corrections

FRONT PAGE

An article on Oct. 31 about tax loopholes in the real estate industry that have benefited President Trump misstated the effect of 2017 changes to a tax break for rehabilitating historic structures. The law limited the tax break to 4 percent a year, but allowed it to be credited in five consecutive years for a total of 20 percent of the project's cost. It did not lower the tax credit to 4 percent from 20 percent. The article also misstated the timing of an exemption for the tax break. The exemption applied to projects started before mid-2018, not before 2017.

ELECTION 2020

An article on Thursday about key

races in Washington State misstated the position of Kim Wyman, the Republican secretary of state, on the state's mail-in voting policy. Ms. Wyman does not agree with President Trump's voiced opinion and attacks on mail-in voting, she is a defender of the procedure.

ARTS

An book review on Friday about "We Keep the Dead Close" misstated one of the counties where Becky Cooper requested records during her research. It is Suffolk County, not Sussex.

ARTS & LEISURE

Because of an editing error, an article on Page 12 about the com-

poser Osvaldo Golijov misidentified the person who programmed the 2006 Ojai Music Festival. It was Robert Spano, not Thomas W. Morris.

MAGAZINE

The Eat column on Page 22 about the chef André Soltner's onion tart misstates how many years he made it at Lutèce. It was 43, not 33.

An article this weekend on Page 24 about the folk singers Gillian Welch and David Rawlings misstates the title of Gillian Welch's new three-volume collection of songs. It is "Boots No. 2: Lost Songs," not "Boots 2: Lost Songs."

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Marguerite Littman, Who Was the Inspiration for Holly Golightly, Dies at 90

By PENELOPE GREEN

Marguerite Littman, a honey-voiced Louisianian and literary muse who taught Hollywood to speak Southern, but who left her most enduring legacy as an early force in the fight against AIDS, died on Oct. 16 at her home in London. She was 90.

Peter Eyre, a longtime friend, confirmed the death. He said she had been ill for some time.

By all accounts hypnotically charming, Ms. Littman, who landed in Los Angeles at midcentury, counted among her closest friends the writer Christopher Isherwood and his partner, the artist Don Bachardy, as well as Gore Vidal, David Hockney and, famously, Truman Capote, who is said to have distilled that charm into his most famous character, Holly Golightly of “Breakfast at Tiffany’s.”

“She was a rarefied creature — generous, restless,” the Irish novelist and memoirist Edna O’Brien wrote in an email, adding, “She was like a character in fiction.”

An oft-told story about Ms. Littman goes like this: Mr. Capote and Ms. Littman were sitting at the pool at Cipriani’s in Venice in the late 1970s when Ms. Littman pointed out an extremely thin woman. “That is anorexia nervosa,” she declared. And Mr. Capote replied, “Oh Marguerite, you know everybody.”

“She wove legends while you were with her,” said Ben Brantley, the former chief theater critic for The New York Times and a longtime friend. “I remember someone saying you can’t take her seriously, but there was such seriousness in her frivolity. It was an existential choice.

“If you were sick, she was there,” Mr. Brantley continued. “She didn’t push darkness into a corner. She once said relationships should be ‘as light as a butterfly, a pale, pale shade of beige.’ Life was somber enough.”

In 1986, at the peak of the AIDS epidemic, Ms. Littman, who was then living in London, wrote to 100 friends asking them each to contribute 100 pounds to become a founding member of what would become the AIDS Charitable Trust, a powerhouse of fund-raising in Britain for more than a decade. Those famous friends all kicked in, and would continue to do so.

One bonanza was the sale of “Hockney’s Alphabet,” with letters drawn by the artist and essays by authors like Iris Murdoch, Ian McEwan and Kazuo Ishiguro, edited by the poet Stephen Spender. (Mr. Vidal, writing about the



PATRICK LICHFIELD/CONDÉ NAST, VIA GETTY IMAGES



TIM GRAHAM/TIM GRAHAM PHOTO LIBRARY, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Left, Marguerite Littman in her London living room in 1971. In the background is a portrait by the artist David Hockney of her friends Christopher Isherwood and Don Bachardy. Above, Ms. Littman, left, in 1997 with Diana, Princess of Wales, who supported Ms. Littman’s work with the AIDS Charitable Trust.

letter E, began his essay with typical acidity, “I never liked the look of E. . . .”)

And just before her death in 1997, Diana, Princess of Wales, long a supporter of AIDS organizations, donated her wardrobe to be sold at an auction to benefit the trust, among other charities. It raised more than \$3 million.

“She rang me in the morning,” Ms. Littman told Cathy Horyn of The New York Times in 1999, when she was honored for her AIDS philanthropy by the Harvard AIDS Institute alongside the boldfaced names Judith Peabody and Deeda Blair. “She said: ‘I have a wonderful idea. I’m going to give you all of my dresses.’ I didn’t know quite what that meant. I thought, Oh, God, do I dress that badly?”

In 1999, Ms. Littman stepped back from the trust, and it was rolled into the Elton John AIDS Foundation.

“Marguerite was a true vanguard in the war on H.I.V./AIDS,” Mr. John and David Furnish, the organization’s chairman, wrote in an email. “In the ‘80s, people dy-

ing of AIDS were treated like lepers — shunned from society because of fear, ignorance and bigotry. With her customary wit and indefatigable life force, Marguerite steamrolled in where others feared to tread and raised millions.”

Marguerite Lamkin was born on May 4, 1930, in Monroe, La. Her

A hypnotically charming force in the fight against AIDS.

father, Ebenezer Tyler Lamkin II, known as Ebb, was a prominent lawyer. Her mother, Eugenia Layton (Speed) Lamkin, known as Layton, was a homemaker.

Marguerite studied philosophy at Newcomb, a women’s college that is now part of Tulane University in New Orleans, before attending Finch College in New York City. When her brother,

Hillyer Speed Lamkin, a playwright and novelist, headed to Los Angeles with a contract from the producer Jerry Wald, she followed him.

Mr. Wald, she told Ms. Horyn of The Times, thought she looked like a young Susan Hayward, and sent her to a vocal coach to erase her accent. When that exercise failed, she became a coach herself, stretching the vowels of Elizabeth Taylor and Paul Newman in “Cat on a Hot Tin Roof.”

She was briefly married to Harry Brown, a screenwriter and a friend of her brother’s who was said to be an alcoholic. When he threatened her with a gun one night, she fled to Mr. Isherwood and Mr. Bachardy’s house, saying she was going out for lamb chops, and never came back. Another brief marriage, to Rory Harritt, an actor, ended in divorce. By that point, Ms. Littman had moved to New York City and was working for Glamour magazine as an advice columnist.

She also worked for the photographer Richard Avedon as an all-around fixer, cajoler and aide-de-

camp when he was putting together “Nothing Personal” (1964), his searing portfolio of American identity, with his high school friend James Baldwin. The book’s portraits of civil rights workers, segregationists, children of slaves, Daughters of the American Revolution and lunatic asylum inmates offered a startling collision of humanity, and Ms. Littman’s overwhelming charm and persistence helped Mr. Avedon secure most of them.

“Nobody could resist her,” said Neil Selkirk, a photographer and filmmaker who interviewed Ms. Littman for a documentary about Marvin Israel, the painter and art director who designed “Nothing Personal.” “She also knew everyone. She knew the head of the asylum.” She also knew the terrifying Democratic Party boss and segregationist Leander Perez — whom Mr. Avedon captured pumped up with aggression, teeth clamped on a fat cigar — because he had shot pigeons with her uncle.

They received death threats on their Southern tour. “We’d been run out of every town in Louisiana,” Ms. Littman told Mr. Selkirk. “We were scared the whole time.” Yet, Ms. Horyn recalled in a phone interview, “She was always comfortable in her skin, comfortable in the places she landed. She could navigate in a lot of circles and not boast about it. I don’t think she had anything to prove. For all

her zest, there was a seriousness about her. She had missions to accomplish.”

In 1965, Ms. Littman married Mark Littman, a British barrister, and they settled in a house on Chester Square in London, the Belgravia neighborhood that has also been home to Margaret Thatcher and Mick Jagger. There Ms. Littman gave what became storied lunch parties that began with Champagne laced with orange liqueur, moved onto jambalaya made with apricot jam and ended with a nap. “It was great for starving artists,” the Swedish photographer Eric Boman said.

Her house “was like a fantasy world, with all these paintings by Hockney,” Mr. Eyre said. “You could say she was sort of fantastic herself. A fantasist. Her mind and her memory and her accent. Her husband said to me one day, ‘Do you find Marguerite’s accent has gotten heavier?’”

Ms. Littman’s brother died in 2011, and Mr. Littman died in 2015. She leaves no immediate survivors.

“I would say Marguerite had many talents and did many things, but her greatest achievement was her AIDS advocacy,” said Ms. Blair, whose decades-long friendship with Ms. Littman deepened through their AIDS work. “I would also say she was someone, how shall I put it, who lingered in people’s minds.”

Eddie Johnson, 65, N.B.A. Star Serving Life Sentence

By RICHARD SANDOMIR

Eddie Johnson, who fell from N.B.A. stardom into drug abuse and a life of crime that resulted in a life sentence for sexually assaulting a young girl, died on Oct. 25 in a state prison in Milton, Fla. He was 65.

The Florida Department of Corrections reported his death, at the Santa Rosa Correctional Institution Annex, but did not give a cause.

Johnson, who was nicknamed Fast Eddie for his explosive first step, was drafted out of Auburn University in 1977 by the Atlanta Hawks. He soon became one of the team’s top players and started the 1980 and 1981 All-Star Games.

“He was built like a linebacker and was as fast as they come with the ball in his hands, putting it on the floor, attacking someone off the dribble,” Mike Fratello, who coached the Hawks during some of Johnson’s nine seasons with the team, said in a phone interview. “And he could defend because of

his strength and his ability to move his feet.”

Johnson began to use cocaine in college and continued using it during his N.B.A. career. During his professional playing days, he was charged with cocaine possession, writing bad checks and car theft; he was hospitalized at least twice for treatment of manic-depressive disorder; and he successfully fled two men shooting at him in a motel parking lot after what the police said was a drug deal gone wrong.

In 1981, Johnson discussed his cocaine use in an interview with Sports Illustrated. “I partied a little extensively, but I wasn’t abusing it,” he said. “The whole idea of me abusing drugs is outlandish.”

With his production deteriorating and his behavior growing increasingly erratic, Johnson was traded to the Cleveland Cavaliers in early 1986; a year later, he signed with the Seattle SuperSonics. After several violations of the N.B.A.’s antidrug agreement, he was banned from the league in

1987.

In 10 seasons, Johnson averaged 15.1 points a game.

Edward Lee Johnson Jr. was born on Feb. 24, 1955, in Ocala, Fla., and grew up in nearby Weirsdale. He was a star at Lake Weir High School, whose basketball

He was nicknamed Fast Eddie for his explosive first step.

coach, Hugh Lindsley, told The Associated Press in 2006 that Johnson had been a flashy but effective player.

“I said, ‘You can throw a pass behind your back, but it dang sure better go where it’s supposed to go,’” he recalled. “And it usually did.”

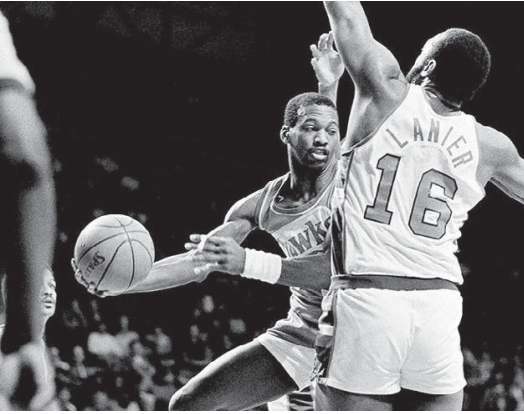
Johnson’s younger brother Frank, who survives him, played

in the N.B.A. for the Washington Bullets (now Wizards), Houston Rockets and Phoenix Suns. Information on other survivors was not immediately available.

Eddie Johnson was among the Tigers’ leading scorers in all four of his years at Auburn. In his first season with the Hawks, he averaged 10.5 points a game; three years later, he was the team’s leading scorer, averaging 19.1.

“There were very few days during the four years that I coached him that he couldn’t turn on the burners,” Hubie Brown, the Hawks’ coach from 1976 to 1981, told Sports Illustrated. “In the games, no matter what his mental situation was, he could always produce to his potential.”

When there were no games left to play, Johnson’s life unraveled. By his own count, he was arrested at least 100 times. Between 1987 and 2001, he was convicted, among other crimes, of burglary, battery, drug sale and possession, violently resisting arrest and grand theft.



TOM LYNN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Eddie Johnson of the Atlanta Hawks in a 1984 playoff game.

He committed his most serious crime in 2006. Prosecutors said he had entered the unlocked front door of an apartment in Ocala where an 8-year-old girl and her three brothers were alone watching television; a babysitter had stepped outside.

The girl testified at Johnson’s trial in 2008 that he had followed her to her bedroom, locked the door and pushed a dresser in front of it before sexually assaulting her. He was convicted of sexual battery and molestation. He received a mandatory life sentence.

Deaths BERNSTEIN—Vivian, passed away on 5th November 2020 at the age of 66. Beloved wife of Daniel. Loving mother of Michelle and Peter (Jen). Devoted abuela of Benjamin and Eli and sister of Tomas (Sandra). Vivian was born in Caracas, Venezuela, a daughter of two Holocaust Survivors, Eva and Herbert Glaser, from Prague, Czechoslovakia. She exemplified and embodied every day of her life the theory of living life to the fullest. A retiree from the United Nations after 33 and a half years, a devout tennis player and fan, a lover of all activities with family, Vivian had the unique ability of creating special connections with everyone she came in contact with and will be missed by all those she touched. Donations in her memory may be made to Dr. Eileen O'Reilly Research Fund at Memorial Sloan Kettering. Funeral will be held 8th November 2020, 9:00am at Riverside Memorial Chapel with a graveside service to follow 11am at Mount Zion Cemetery, Masspeth, Queens.	Bernstein, Vivian Chin, Pearl Lee Fleischer, Alan Kemp, Jacqueline	Deaths Machol, Erwin McGarry, James Perlegos, Pete Shanfield, Raymond	PERLEGOS—Pete,  was born on October 26, 1920 in the village of Garea of ancient Tegea, Arkadia, Greece, the son of Zafirris and Diamanto Perlegos. Pete celebrated his one hundredth birthday on October 26, 2020 before passing away peacefully on November 1, 2020. His father Zafirris, together with Pete's uncles (Nick, John and George) had come to America in the late 1880's. John joined the US Navy, serving in the Spanish American War. George served in the US Army in WWI, being injured and becoming a Disabled American Veteran. Zafirris worked for Union Pacific as a foreman, bringing the railroad to the West before returning to Greece to start his family. 1945 was a pivotal year for Pete when he married Helen Mitroakis, and in that same year, joined the Greek Army to serve during the Civil War. After completing his Army service, Pete returned home and went into local politics, serving as the local Mayor and assisting many young adults prepare the correct paperwork to emigrate abroad. In 1955 Pete	Deaths left Helen and their sons (Jeff, Gust and George) to go to America to find his younger brother, Leon. Pete made his way to Lodi, California where Leon and several of his parents' family members had settled. After five years of working at every job, he could find. Pete became a US citizen and saved enough money to bring his family to Lodi. Although still in his teens, Jeff, Gust and George traveled by themselves to Lodi in 1962. Helen stayed behind to take care of the farm, arriving in 1965. Pete insisted that his sons get good educations and worked to give them that opportunity. Jeff went to UC Berkeley while Gust and George both went to Stanford, all obtaining Engineering degrees. Pete became an entrepreneur and started buying farm land eventually becoming a force as one of the last independent farmers in the area. He started buying farm land eventually becoming a force as one of the last independent farmers in the area. He started buying farm land eventually becoming a force as one of the last independent farmers in the area.	Deaths he turned to his love of sculpting and sculpted for many years at the Art Students League. Ray would travel to Italy every summer and select marble from the quarries of the Apennine Mountains in central Italy. He carved for 15 years in the town of Pietrasanta in Tuscany. His sculptures have been exhibited in many New York City galleries and have won numerous awards. They may be viewed on his website at www.rayshandfieldsculptures.com. Ray loved life. And he and his wife, Lois bicycled all throughout France, went to the Arctic Circle to see the polar bears and visited Kenya, Africa to see the lions and elephants. Ray was a very special person and will be greatly missed.	Deaths THURMAN—Harold, passed peacefully on Tuesday, November 3, 2020 at the age of 90. He is survived by his wife, Naomi; son, Brad and his wife, Jeanine; son, Scott, and his dearest friend Kevin; grandson Darren and his wife Emily and granddaughter Jessica and her partner Collette, and his cherished lifelong partners Patrick (deceased) and his wife Catherine Consolvas and family. Harold was a distinguished constructor/building developer in New York City, Connecticut and the New York metropolitan area for over 50 years. He will be fondly remembered by his family and business associates. Harold had a deep love of family and faith and conveyed a thoughtful business acumen and quest for knowledge. Harold was a mentor for many and will be missed by all those who were lucky enough to have known him. Please consider a memorial contribution to:	Deaths https://nyulangone.org/give/fundraise or the Wounded Warriors Project or St. Jude's Hospital for Children OFFER—Mildred C., age 93, of Brooklyn, N.Y., passed away November 4, 2020. Please visit www.cornonoblenf.com for further information on visitation, mass, and burial dates and times. In Memoriam HALL—Jeffrey L., 5/11/47-11/7/13. Seven years gone, forever in my heart. Your Soulmate, Terry RAPHAEL—Aaron. In memory of Aaron Raphael (10/29/12-11/7/95) on the 25th anniversary of his passing. Beloved, son, brother, husband, father, grandfather and teacher. Love forever, from the family
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Opinion

The New York Times

FARHAD MANJOO

Will We Ever Fix Our Broken Voting System?



ILLUSTRATION BY THE NEW YORK TIMES; PHOTOGRAPH BY JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

NOW THAT THE BALLOTS have been cast and we wait to see whose will be counted and whose will be ignored, can we please take a moment to acknowledge what a huge mess this whole thing has been?

I don't mean the big things — the absurd twists in the ugly, never-ending, pandemic-blurred, possibly world-ending presidential election of 2020. No, I'm referring to the smallest, most particular act of this saga: the way we voted. The process of registering your democratic preference, the citizen's core duty in a democracy. Can we take a moment to acknowledge how terribly inefficient, inaccessible, unfair and just plain backward this process remains in the United States?

When all the tallying is done, up to an estimated 160 million Americans will have voted this year — a turnout of about 67 percent of eligible voters. That will be a modern record, and given that it occurred as the coronavirus raged, the casting and counting of all those votes should be regarded as an achievement for the United States' election system.

But that's not a very high bar, and the biggest problem about how America conducts its elections is that we have been too tolerant, for too long, of a bar that is set way too low.

High turnout notwithstanding, the glaring lesson of this year's election is that we cannot go on this way. From the endless lines to the pre-election legal wrangling to the president's constant effort to undermine the process, every ballot cast this year was a leap of faith: Would it get there in time? Would it get there at all? Would they try to toss it out because you voted from a car? Would they throw it out because you signed your name carelessly? Would judges be called upon to alter the mail-in deadline after the election had already begun? Would you ever be able to find the one drop box in your sprawling county? And, after all that, would anyone believe the count, anyway?

All of this uncertainty is unworthy of the world's "oldest democracy." American elections are broken, and because the legitimacy of the entire political system rests upon our votes, their brokenness mars every part of our democracy.

Fixing how we vote isn't a mystery. Experts have recommended several specific measures that could greatly expand the franchise, including federal measures to make registration easier, expand early voting and ensure that we have ad-

equated resources at polling locations to prevent long lines.

The difficulty is, instead, political. For decades, limiting who gets to vote has been a key strategy of the Republican Party — though usually people on the right have not been quite so proud of this fact. This year, as has happened often with Donald Trump, subtext became text. In the weeks before Election Day, Trump all but boasted about the role that voter intimidation and suppression would play in his campaign.

"We're watching you, Philadelphia," Trump warned in Pennsylvania last week, suggesting something untoward was going on with the vote in a city highly unfavorable to his candidacy. "We're watching at the highest level."

If Democrats manage to win both the presidency and the Senate, undoing the Republican bet on disenfranchisement ought to be among their highest priori-

Turnout was inspiring, but the way we vote is still badly flawed.

ties. One reason voting remains so onerous is that we rarely think about it except when it's close to Election Day. The further out we get from the vote, the less urgency there is to fix things. But nothing else in a democracy works if voting doesn't work. So, please, let's fix voting first.

None of the problems we saw this year were new; inaccessibility, confusion, bureaucratic hoop-jumping and outright intimidation have long been hallmarks of American elections. Though politicians speak dreamily of the importance of voting, the United States badly lags other democracies on many measures of electoral success; in many countries, a turnout rate of about two-thirds wouldn't rank as particularly extraordinary.

Voting in this country is also highly unequal. Compared with turnout among whites, turnout among people of color is often lower. It's hard to argue that this isn't by design, a result of decades of deliberate disenfranchisement and the perpetuation, still, of voter suppression efforts aimed at people of color.

But the best way to appreciate the shortcomings in how we vote isn't by looking at other countries. Instead, compare the act of voting to other modern

services. Set against so many less important transactions in American life — ordering a complicated coffee from a national chain, or finding the best sushi place in a town you've never visited before — the simple act of casting a ballot is laughably antiquated.

Across much of the country, registering to vote is a labyrinth. In most states, if you haven't remembered to register before Election Day, you're too late. Not that you'd necessarily know about it. In between elections, it has become common for states to "purge" voter rolls of people deemed ineligible, a process that many voters only learn about when they show up at the polls and are denied the chance to vote.

The system is also fragmented and underfunded, and it suffers from misaligned incentives. In many countries, elections are administered by nonpartisan agencies that set rules for the entire nation. In the United States, elections are often run by elected officials — Republican or Democratic secretaries of state, for instance — and rules about who gets to vote and how they do so differ from state to state.

Because states and the federal government do not sufficiently fund the voting system, it is often unable to meet anything more than ordinary demand. In the last few weeks, Americans in many cities have waited hours for the chance to vote, which is both inspiring and a really terrible comment on the state of our democracy.

As Amanda Mull noted recently in *The Atlantic*, in 2020 the act of voting was elevated to that most sacrosanct place in American society — it became feel-good marketing for brands. This year it felt as if just about every brand in America turned giddy about the democratic process. Retailers and fashion designers and restaurant chains couldn't stop reminding us to "Vote!"

But the embrace of voting as a way to project corporate virtue only highlights how little the government has done to promote this supposedly precious democratic act. "As long as America's leaders decline to make the system-wide changes that would help more people vote, corporations with something to sell will seep into the void," Mull wrote.

She's right, and it's terrible. Voting shouldn't be this difficult or this uncertain. We know what needs to be done to improve the process. And we shouldn't wait until another election to get it done. □

LETTERS

Democracy in America: Counting Votes

TO THE EDITOR:

Instead of applauding the courage of the millions of voters who stood in long lines during a horrible pandemic, and the supreme dedication of poll workers who have put in many, long hours, President Trump is spreading ridiculous falsehoods about the voting process.

In many states, Republicans demanded that mail-in votes could not be counted until Election Day. That is one of the main reasons it is taking so long to count all of the votes, not because anyone is doing anything illegal.

If President Trump wants to challenge the results with recounts, that's fine; it's his right to do so. But he should not try to cast doubt on the integrity of the poll workers or the millions of determined people on both sides who went to great lengths to vote.

ROBERT H. MOULTON
COMMERCE CITY, COLO.

TO THE EDITOR:

President Trump's early claim of victory on the night of the election and his news conference Thursday night remind me of playing Candy Land with my 5-year-old nephew. It only counts if he wins, and forget about rules. If disappointment ensues, the whole board will be flipped upside down.

Is this what the United States of America has come to? When is the intervention?

JANE ELLIS, SOUTH ORANGE, N.J.

TO THE EDITOR:

I was a member of the team of lawyers who worked on the 2000 recount team for Al Gore. My law partner, Warren Christopher, supervised the effort and served as the counterpart to James A. Baker III, who headed the George W. Bush cohort.

Though the battle was hard fought, Mr. Christopher and Mr. Baker shared an unspoken understanding that the manner in which the parties engaged could have a profound impact on how Americans viewed the institutions that are fundamental to our democracy.

Though the fight can hardly be said to have been waged under Marquess of Queensberry rules or that the contest was free of political manipulation, there were lines that were not crossed.

Ignoring the laws that govern our elections was not on the table in 2000, nor should it be in 2020.

MARK STEINBERG, LOS ANGELES

The writer was an associate deputy attorney general and counselor on international law under President Bill Clinton.

TO THE EDITOR:

As the United States painstakingly counted its election ballots state by bloody state and agonized over the razor-thin margins between two presidential candidates, the rest of the world was bewildered and asking: Couldn't all this nonsense be avoided if there were no Electoral College and all we had to do was tally the national popular vote?

RON A. VIRMANI, CHARLOTTE, N.C.

TO THE EDITOR:

Many people have been asking how President Trump received so many votes, even after all of his gross incompetence during the past four years. People have also been la-

menting that they don't know what America we are living in.

For answers, I suggest reading "Caste: The Origins of Our Discontent," by Isabel Wilkerson. I have been doing so during the past two weeks and believe her thesis — that America's social structure is fundamentally a caste system — to be quite compelling.

ELIZABETH ZUCH
WHITE PLAINS, N.Y.

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Exit Polls Point to the Power of White Patriarchy" (column, *nytimes.com*, Nov. 4):

Charles M. Blow wonders why so many gay people, Black men and white women voted for President Trump, concluding that aspiration "to power by proximity" must be the reason.

An alternative explanation might be that many Americans, regardless of race, sexual orientation or gender, voted for Mr. Trump because they believed that he was better for "the economy" — code for "I fear losing my livelihood, my life savings and my ability to pay for health care more than I fear the virus."

Democrats need to do a better job of hearing those fears — and crafting messages that speak to them. If Democrats had been able to persuade Americans that to rebuild our economy, we must control the virus first, there might have been more than a razor-thin margin between Joe Biden and the most corrupt, incompetent president in modern history.

JANE PRAEGER, NEW YORK

The writer is president of Ovid, a strategic communications firm.

TO THE EDITOR:

It is public knowledge that President Trump's hotels and golf courses are losing substantial amounts of money. Without the presidency to help support the occupancy and use of these facilities by those who would like to curry favor with the president, these facilities would be a financial disaster.

An election loss isn't just about pride for the president; he is also desperate to avoid the financial consequences of that loss. This is about money, and there is nothing more important to him.

KEN MARTIN
FOREST HILLS, QUEENS

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "The President's Hall of Mirrors" (Op-Ed, Nov. 3):

Peter Wehner argues that the contemporary breadth of conspiracy-mongering is dangerous, distorting not only the way we debate politics and issues but also our very beliefs in the ethics of our government institutions and the patriotism and legitimacy of those who hold views different from our own.

Ten years from today, I pray that the legacy of the last four years will have receded and that parents and children, family members, neighbors and friends will find it possible, once again, to disagree about political issues while keeping a sense of humor and without demonizing one another, severing relationships or raising the thought of property damage, armed confrontations or violence.

JERRY SHEINBACH, BALTIMORE

ROGER COHEN

The People Versus Donald Trump

THE NIGHT IS DARKEST before the dawn.

To see that child-man charlatan in the White House spouting lies yet again, asserting without a trace of evidence that "If you count the legal vote I easily win," claiming that "I won Pennsylvania by a lot," and Michigan and Georgia, too, was to be reminded of the American nightmare of these past four years that the American people seem to have brought to an end.

It was a nightmare in which truth died, decency was trampled, science was flouted, division was fanned and the American idea was desecrated, as President Trump wheedled his way into the minds of every American with an insidious cascade of self-obsessed posturing and manipulative untruth.

In a democracy, a beautiful idea for which so much blood has been shed over the centuries, every vote is counted and each vote counts. That is what happened in 2016, when President Trump won Michigan by 0.2 percentage points, Pennsylvania by 0.7 and Wisconsin by 0.8. What goes around comes around.

The difference in 2020 is that the child-man cannot accept his treat being snatched away. A bully born on third

base cannot play by the rules of the game and accept the sanctity of the electoral process and the law.

As I write, it appears that Joe Biden will be the 46th president of the United States.

There may be recounts. There will be legal challenges. But Trump's attempted coup against democracy, for it is no less than that, will be resisted. The United States is far bigger than this little man.

It seems almost churlish to pick apart Trump's arguments, which in fact reflect no more than the hysteria of a narcissist for whom the phrase "You're fired!" is unbearable.

He cannot seem to distinguish between voting after the election, which would be illegal, and the process of receiving and counting votes cast in a timely manner. Or rather, he can make that distinction, but only when it comes to Arizona, where he hopes the ballots still being counted will reverse Biden's lead.

Trump has another mental problem. He cannot, it seems, distinguish between a snapshot of a moment — when, for example, he was ahead of Biden by several hundred thousand votes in Georgia and

Pennsylvania on election night — and the eventual result after all votes are counted.

He keeps bleating that he "won" and that some vast conspiracy by the media and a corrupt Democratic Party machine has mysteriously "whittled down" his triumph until it takes on the hideous hew of defeat. Another name for "whittling" is

Most Americans want him to go. He won't listen.

counting the votes.

Such desperation — the antics of the sandbox transposed to the Oval Office — is excruciating to watch, not least because it is so predictable.

Throughout his life, when in a tight corner, having stiffed his contractors or ushered his businesses to the brink of bankruptcy, Trump has responded with lawsuits, lies and threats. His method was simple: attack, attack, attack. It often worked. But until now, he has not faced the will of the American people in the opposing corner.

An attempted coup against democracy, I said. For months now, Trump has been peddling the notion that, as he put it in July, "mail-in ballots will lead to massive electoral fraud and a rigged 2020 election." He has returned to the theme relentlessly, without any evidence that mail ballots lead to fraud. This was the groundwork for a power grab.

Now it is Biden's moment, on the eve of his 78th birthday. The moment of a man with a deep respect for America's institutions, its alliances and the rule of law. The moment of a man who reached out to all Americans during the campaign. The moment of a man who became the Democratic nominee as people turned to safe hands to confront the coronavirus and now, it seems, will be asked to heal a wounded nation. The moment of a man who came to a gift for empathy through the devastating loss of his first wife and two of his four children. The moment of an American who understands that you cannot sculpt from rotten wood, and so every democracy requires the foundation of truth.

Trump's last-ditch incitement of his vast tribe — composed of tens of millions of Americans — will cast a shadow

across an eventual Biden presidency. The battles of today will not quickly abate. But the restoration of sanity to the highest office in the land is the prerequisite for the rebuilding that must now begin. As Martin Luther King Jr. put it, "The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice."

I think now particularly of Georgia, where a Biden victory would be the first by a Democratic candidate in almost three decades. With its large African-American population, and its sharp division between diverse, fast-growing Metro Atlanta and a mainly white conservative hinterland, Georgia was a bellwether of a changing America reeling from a pandemic and racial tension.

"Let Freedom Ring From Georgia" was the headline on a column I wrote from there in June, predicting a Trump defeat.

Democracy is messy but stubborn. It is the system that best enshrines the human desire to be free. This massive American vote has been many things — bitter and ugly among them — but above all, it has been a beautiful testament to the power of each, single ballot in the world's oldest democracy. □

TIMOTHY EGAN

Democracy’s Brush With Death

THE CLOSEST I EVER CAME to death was when a ferocious undertow grabbed hold of my wife and me, carrying us out into the raging surf off Puerto Escondido, Mexico. We gagged, flailed and turned purple as we wrestled to stay afloat. Saved by a sandbar, I never looked at life the same way again.

So we find ourselves today, still holding our breath, looking back at the bloodied mess of our tattered democracy. As exhilarating as it is to cheat death, we are diminished and badly shaken by what happened this week.

Those of us in the business of crafting narrative from chaos are hard-pressed to say anything positive about the last few days. I nearly lost my faith in humanity, and certainly lost my faith in the polling industrial complex. I’m perplexed and humbled.

“Stop the count.” Of all the violations of things that we hold precious in this country, this tweet by President Trump on Thursday, demanding that millions of voters be disenfranchised so he can steal an election, is the one that will live in infamy.

But let’s find some light in the darkness. Mr. Trump’s electoral ambulance chasing, the inchoate chants of supporters to simultaneously stop the count and count the vote (depending on the state) will change nothing.

Joe Biden is winning the popular vote by close to a three-point margin. That’s no small thing. John F. Kennedy won by less than one percentage point. Ronald Reagan rode into the White House in 1980 with just over 50 percent of the total popular vote. Bill Clinton became president with 43 percent of the vote in a race with three major candidates.

A President-Elect Biden would mean the first African-American vice president, Kamala Harris. The first female veep, as well. History, noted.

It would mean the United States could again join the community of nations committed to saving this gasping, burning, overwhelmed planet. Public lands would remain in public hands.

It would mean that the pipeline of partisan, retrograde federal judges would be shut off, for now. Ditto the Supreme Court, should Mr. Biden get a pick.

It would mean science and truth would be guiding principles at the highest level of government — this coming just as we enter another long dark season of Covid-19 deaths because science and truth were ignored.

It would mean that the executive office would no longer be actively fighting to take away health care from millions of Americans. Think about a springtime

I’m badly shaken by what happened in this election.

that could bring a coronavirus vaccine, a revived economy and a restoration of decency and civility.

Looking at the bigger picture, Democrats were done in by extreme voices that Mr. Trump was able to link to their party. Defunding the police will never be popular outside a few lefty precincts. The whiff of socialism helped kill Democrats in Florida.

In California, voters rejected ballot measures that would have delivered a return of affirmative action and a bill to expand rent control. That was a wake-up call for the overly woke.

The violent fringe on the left helped Mr. Trump. The violent fringe on the right, sadly, did not appear to hurt him. In the closing days of this campaign, the president appeared to lend his support to a truck brigade that had tried to run a Biden bus off the road in Texas. He suggested locking up his political opponents and reveled in crowds chanting that he should fire the nation’s foremost infectious disease expert.

But let’s look to better days ahead, and begin repairing our broken democracy. A presidential candidate could win the popular vote by nearly five million votes, but depending on where those votes are cast, he or she could still lose in the archaic Electoral College, the fortress for the tyranny of the minority. Only *once* in the last 30 years have Republicans won the popular vote.

The obvious flaw here — that the person who gets the most votes does not necessarily win — could be neutralized by the National Popular Vote Compact, in which all of a participating state’s electoral votes are pledged to the winner of the national popular vote.

On Tuesday, Colorado voters approved joining the compact, which now has 15 states plus the District of Columbia, representing 196 electoral votes. More states are needed to push it past the 270-vote margin, where it could go into effect.

But for now, it’s the best vehicle for bringing the American system closer to one that reflects the will of the people.

Ah, the will of people. Who knows what the hell that is. Yes, it’s karmic justice that three of the states pivotal in electing Mr. Trump — Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan — now look like three that will fire him.

And for that slim majority, and the rest of us, may mourning in America soon turn to morning in America. □



MARK MAKELA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

How Evangelicals Have Changed

Elizabeth Bruenig

DAVE O'BANNON, 62, cast his first presidential ballot, in 1976, for a fellow evangelical — Jimmy Carter.

“I fell in love with Jimmy Carter,” he sighed in an October phone call. “I just fell in love with his love of God.”

At the time, Mr. O'Bannon was 18 years old, and the Republican campaign to capture the white evangelical vote was just gaining momentum. Mr. O'Bannon was shortly swept up by the party's alliance with conservative Christians, and for the next four decades he would not cast a single presidential ballot for a Democrat.

It seemed like a reasonable bargain for evangelicals, Protestant Christians whose distinctive mix of activism, biblical focus and emphasis on being “born again” makes them unusual. Political objectives could advance evangelicals' religious convictions — ending abortion, halting the sexual revolution and permitting demonstrations of faith in public settings, like prayer in schools. Theirs was a politics of piety intended to spiritually renew a broadly Christian country that often seemed to lose sight of its moral guideposts. They brought their fervor to a party otherwise concerned with lowering taxes and limiting government reach. The Republican Party would lend their moral aspirations the force of law, and they would be the party's conscience.

Yet as years went by, the salt would lose its savor. Their spiritual political crusade lapsed into worldly partisanship. White evangelicals have now blended so seamlessly into the broader Republican base that adherents and observers say that the label has become more a political than religious one. Electing Republicans has become, for many evangelicals, an end in itself.

But that transformation would take time. “I was one of those rabid Republicans in the early '80s,” Mr. O'Bannon said. He had gone to Washington as an intern for Senator Don Nickles of Oklahoma around that time and went on to serve as a city councilman and mayor in Yukon, Okla. He spent time in the tech industry and eventually taught marketing at his alma mater, Southern Nazarene University. He was vehemently opposed to abortion, and the Republican Party was willing to fight it.

Yet, by the time he voted for George W. Bush in 2000, something in Mr. O'Bannon had begun to change.

“I had a real transformation from the standpoint of — always calling myself a Christian, but I was a hypocrite,” he said. Mr. O'Bannon found himself spending so much time agitating *against* various issues — like abortion and same-sex marriage — that he spent relatively little time evangelizing.

He wanted to present a vision of Christianity that was welcoming, capacious, appealing. The political orthodoxy of white evangelicalism, its style and methods, had driven him far from that.

With the careful cadence of a Sunday school teacher, he spoke of the need to follow Christ's Great Commission, his exhortation to his apostles to make disciples of all nations, baptize believers and teach them God's commandments.

“And I don't see where the Republican Party and, my gosh, Donald Trump, check hardly any of those boxes,” he said.

White evangelicals were not always a Republican auxiliary. Before the 1970s, they were, in the words of a prominent conservative activist, Morton Blackwell, “the largest tract of virgin timber on the political landscape.” They only needed to be cultivated — and eventually harvested — for the Republican cause.

Charles Mathewes, professor of religion and politics at the University of Virginia, observed in an unpublished paper he shared with me that evangelicals had formed a vibrant subculture before they formed a voting bloc. Relying on their own institutions — “places like Wheaton College, Calvin College, Fuller Seminary and media forces like Christianity Today,” Dr. Mathewes writes — they had “Christianized their everyday life.” That they were organized and cohesive made them an especially attractive political asset.

One of evangelicals' first forays into politics as a cohesive group unfolded in 1960, when John Kennedy ran against Richard Nixon. They vociferously opposed Mr. Kennedy, fearing a Catholic president would limit their religious freedom. Some conservative activists saw promise in their capacity to mobilize.

Paul Weyrich, who co-founded the Moral Majority with Jerry Falwell Sr., said he had tried to organize white evangelicals since the Barry Goldwater campaign. But they became interested only after the Internal Revenue Service denied tax exemptions to an evangelical college for racial discrimination in the 1970s, said Randall Balmer, a historian and professor of religion at Dartmouth.

Once Mr. Weyrich realized abortion would be a more widely appealing issue than racial discrimination for grass-roots

evangelicals, a new voting bloc was created. White evangelicals soon became the single largest religious constituency inside the Republican Party, which they remain today.

White evangelicals found a number of issues to rally around: prayer and Bible studies in public schools, rapidly shifting sexual mores, widely available pornography. As Republicans took on these issues, evangelicals grew ever more comfortable being allied with them.

The grand bargain seemed to be working: They had found a way to exert outside influence over politics and society. White evangelicals flocked to the Republican Party in the last decades of the 20th century and into the new millennium, Ryan Burge, a professor at Eastern Illinois University, pointed out in a data-based blog post early this year.

They were crucial to George W. Bush's re-election in 2004, particularly because of their opposition to abortion and same-sex marriage. The Barna Group, a research firm specializing in surveys and polling

concerning religion and public life, marked the occasion with a note tracking the cohort's contributions to Mr. Bush's wins.

“In 1996, born-again adults gave Mr. Dole a slim 49 percent to 42 percent margin of preference against Mr. Clinton,” George Barna, founder of the Barna Group, was quoted as saying in the note in reference to Bill Clinton and Bob Dole. “In 2000, they awarded Mr. Bush a 15-point margin. They upped the ante this time, giving Mr. Bush a 24-point margin. Upon examining their reasons for doing so, it is clear that they were more interested in the character of the candidate than they were in specific issues.”

But how could a movement based on Christian principles and guided by concerns about character deliver a win to Donald Trump?

Bart Barber, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Farmersville, Texas, voted for Evan McMullin, an independent, in 2016 before overcoming his reservations to vote for the president this year.

“Well, he has done his best to try to keep me from voting for him,” Pastor Barber said with a laugh. “I'll say that.” He isn't

They’ve now become a political bloc with a religious past.

unaware of who else supports Mr. Trump, nor is he impressed with the president's character. “I'm ashamed to think of who some of the other people are who will be voting with me for President Trump,” he told me, “white supremacists and generally angry, meanspirited people.”

Nevertheless, a six-week Bible study class he offered his parishioners helped to make up his mind. After considering their options, they decided that “policy is character.”

“I guess I'm voting more this party versus that party than I am the individuals,” he admitted, “because I don't like President Trump at all.”

“One thing that sometimes gets overlooked is that white evangelical protestants are not only Republican; they have been and continue to grow more Republican over time,” Greg Smith, an associate director of research on religion and public life at Pew Research Center, told me. “In our most recent data on party identification,” gathered in 2018 and 2019, Mr. Smith said, “78 percent of white evangelical protestants identify with or lean toward the Republican Party.” Two decades ago, in 2000, that number was “56 percent. And there's no indication that trend has changed over the last four years.”

At the same time, their priorities have begun to shift. Dr. Burge pointed to an analysis of the 2016 Cooperative Congressional Election Study he'd conducted, in which white evangelicals ranked political issues by importance. Same-sex marriage — once a point of bitter contention between white evangelicals and some of their moderate Republican allies — came in last, after jobs, crime, gun control and a variety of other matters. Abortion, too, came in surprisingly low on white evangelicals' ranking of priorities — underneath, for example, immigration. According to Mr. Smith, Pew found this year that “81 percent of white evangelical Protestants said that the economy would be a very important issue in making their decision about who to vote for in the 2020 presidential election, while 61 percent said the same about abortion.” In 2016, he added, a similar finding also held.

“I think what happened was, over time, white evangelical orthodoxy on politics sort of just melded into Republican orthodoxy, and there's no difference anymore,” Dr. Burge told me. “We used to always believe that religion was the first cause and then politics was downstream of religion,” but newer studies suggest that “those two lenses have switched places now and that partisanship is the first cause and now religion is downstream of partisanship.”

There has recently been talk of abandoning the label “evangelical” among those who answer to the descriptor, largely because of its transformation into a mainly political term.

This year, Mr. Biden's campaign took care to reach out to religious voters who were exasperated with the president's behavior — and that appears to have had some success. Still, Mr. Trump lost only a little ground. Preliminary exit poll results indicate that 76 percent of white evangelicals voted for the president, a touch lower than the 81 percent who voted for him in 2016, but still higher than John McCain's 74 percent and neck-and-neck with George W. Bush and Mitt Romney.

Some states — North Carolina, for instance, where 85 percent of white evangelicals said they voted for the president — demonstrated an especially impressive showing. And why not? Trump is a Republican; so are they.

But it is possible for people to change: This may be the most scandalous tenet of the Christian faith.

Dave O'Bannon doesn't call himself an evangelical anymore, just a follower of Jesus Christ. He wants to spend the balance of his years carrying out that Great Commission. And his sense of what that entails politically has transformed.

“Four more years of Donald Trump will move our culture further away from the church,” Mr. O'Bannon said. “And sadly, some further away from a relationship with God.” This year, he cast his vote for Joe Biden. □

ELIZABETH BRUENIG is an Opinion writer.

Make Puerto Rico a State Now

Christina D. Ponsa-Kraus

LIKE all Americans, the people of Puerto Rico went to the polls on Tuesday. But unlike their fellow citizens, Puerto Ricans cannot vote for the president, or for senators or representatives (except for one nonvoting “resident commissioner”). Instead, voters there were asked whether they wanted Puerto Rico to become the 51st state of the union: “yes” or “no.” They chose “yes.” With this historic vote, Puerto Ricans have staked their claim to admission as the 51st state in the union.

A bill that was introduced in Congress in 2019 but didn't come to a vote before the statehood referendum would have expressed Congress's commitment to admitting Puerto Rico as a state if the “yes” vote won. Now that it has, statehood opponents will start throwing up roadblocks. Some will say that the ballot language was flawed; others that the margin of victory was not large enough. Skeptics will wonder whether the time is right, politically or economically. But these objections should not stand in the way. Congress should make Puerto Rico a state now.

The painful legacy of U.S. racial bias against Puerto Rico makes the island's immediate admission to statehood a political and moral imperative. By stalling now, Congress would add fresh insult to old injury by confirming the suspicion that racism against Puerto Ricans is alive and well in America.

Before the United States annexed Puerto Rico in 1898, statehood was a mat-

ter of when, not if: Every territory acquired by the United States would eventually become a state. But when it came to Puerto Rico, Congress balked. It postponed granting citizenship to Puerto Ricans, and the Supreme Court rubber-stamped the island's unequal treatment, making clear that statehood was not necessarily in the cards. These choices reflected the openly racist attitudes of the time: As the court shamelessly put it in a 1901 decision, the United States should hesitate before granting citizenship,

With a historic vote, its people staked their claim to statehood.

rights and equality to Puerto Ricans because they were an “alien” race.

Puerto Ricans became U.S. citizens in 1917, but to this day, Congress governs Puerto Rico under the Territory Clause of the Constitution, which empowers it to make “rules and regulations” for U.S. territories. Federal laws apply there, with a few exceptions determined by Congress, yet the three million American citizens who live in Puerto Rico have no say in the making of those laws.

Many Americans believe that Puerto Rico's colonial status reflects some sort of deal to trade the right to federal representation for a break from federal taxes. But if this convenient rationalization of the status quo seems facile, that's because it is.

For starters, although residents of Puerto Rico do not pay federal income taxes on local income, they do contribute to the federal treasury through other taxes, such as payroll taxes. Between 1998 and 2006, Puerto Rico contributed over \$4 billion annually to the federal treasury — more than six states of the union. Moreover, Puerto Ricans already pay for their federal tax break with significantly reduced federal benefits. Besides, according to estimates from the Tax Policy Center, over 40 percent of all households in the states will not earn enough money this year to owe federal income taxes. No one expects them to give up their right to vote in return.

But the deeper problem with the “tax deal” view of Puerto Rico's status is that the principles of American democracy forbid such a Faustian bargain. In a democracy, the right to vote is not for sale. That's why a majority of Puerto Ricans have chosen statehood, and why Congress should admit Puerto Rico now.

Those who take issue with the ballot language will insist that instead of a “yes or no” vote on statehood, the ballot should have included other status options: an “enhanced” version of the current status (which enjoys substantial support on the island); independence (despite its extremely low popularity); and free association (read: independence, with a treaty of association with the United States). But this view ignores certain crucial realities of Puerto Rico's status debate.

Only two of these options, statehood and “enhanced” commonwealth, have any real support: Puerto Ricans have been split down the middle between these two

alternatives for half a century. And even across this divide, these two groups have long agreed on two key points: They wish to remain U.S. citizens, and they wish to maintain the island's permanent union with the United States. Every measure of Puerto Rican preferences since the mid-20th century has revealed this overwhelming consensus — where “overwhelming” means over 90 percent. Given Puerto Ricans' near-unanimity on the desirability of continued U.S. citizenship and a permanent union with the United States, it made perfect sense for them to have a straight-up vote on statehood, yes or no.

Opponents of statehood will also insist that the margin of victory was not large enough. But no other territory has ever been subjected to such a requirement — and when it comes to treating Puerto Rico differently, enough is enough. Moreover, congressional silence on statehood before the Nov. 3 referendum inevitably depressed the “yes” vote. That voting for statehood required Puerto Ricans to take a leap of faith makes the “yes” vote all the more resounding.

Time's up on pondering the political and economic consequences of Puerto Rican statehood, let alone being opposed to it. It has been 122 years. You don't annex a place, make it your colony for nearly a century and a quarter, and then reject its people's vote for statehood. The time for Puerto Rican statehood is now. □

CHRISTINA D. PONSA-KRAUS is a professor at Columbia Law School.



Time stands still. Your mind expands.
Suddenly everything makes sense.
Every yard to the hole is yours.

YOUR BEST PERFORMANCE
IS THE ONE AHEAD

**TAG HEUER CONNECTED
GOLF EDITION**

 Wear OS by Google



DON'T CRACK UNDER PRESSURE

Jobs Report Shows Gains, but Largely in Sectors Very Vulnerable to Virus Surge

By NELSON D. SCHWARTZ

The American economy continues to heal from the devastating effects of the first wave of the coronavirus pandemic last spring, but a new wave of cases threatens prospects for sustained growth.

The Labor Department reported on Friday that employers added 638,000 jobs in October, a figure that would have been larger without a drop in temporary census workers.

But the engines behind much of the gain — bars and restaurants, which added 192,000 jobs, and retailing, which picked up 104,000 — represent some of the jobs most at risk from a resurgence in coronavirus cases.

Public health experts have linked a return to indoor dining and drinking establishments with increased cases of Covid-19, and those businesses face renewed restrictions as the outbreak worsens. Cooler temperatures are already curtailing outdoor dining, a lifeline for restaurants in many parts of the country.

Similarly, if apprehensive consumers stay away from shopping centers, retail hiring could be curtailed as the year-end shopping season approaches.

Job openings have been weaker than expected as retailers gear up for the holidays, according to Daniel Zhao, senior economist at the jobs site Glassdoor. “This could point to more muted spending and hiring,” he said. And despite the recent gains, employment in the leisure and hospitality sector and among retailers is well below pre-pandemic levels.

Still, there was a notable bright spot in the October report: The unemployment rate fell to 6.9 percent from 7.9 percent.

“It’s better than expected, but

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

6.9%

The U.S. unemployment rate for October, down from 7.9 percent.





Next-generation gaming arrives next week, when Microsoft and Sony release new systems. Get ready to vote with your wallets.





XBox vs. Playstation

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRANDON RUFFIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tech Fix

By BRIAN X. CHEN and MIKE ISAAC

Microsoft's Xbox Series X controller, above left, is trimmer and sleeker, unlike Sony's PlayStation 5 controller, right, which is larger and heavier than its predecessors. But which console is the must-have device?

gamers out there, so we — Brian X. Chen, a longtime PlayStation fan, and Mike Isaac, who grew up playing the Xbox — both tested the new consoles in our homes.

This review focuses on the new Xbox systems. Our review of the PlayStation 5 will follow this week.

BRIAN Hello, Mike. While the country has been tallying up votes for our next president, you and I have been playing video games to help our readers decide which new game console to vote for with their wallets.

For the last generation of consoles, PlayStation 4 was the must-have game device, with more than double the number of sales of the Xbox One. Now people are wondering if it's the

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5

Tech Fix

By BRIAN X. CHEN and MIKE ISAAC

This holiday season, we are faced with a tough quandary: The new PlayStation and Xbox consoles are arriving. Which should we gift to our loved ones — or to ourselves?

There are plenty of options. Beginning Thursday, Sony will ship two versions of the PlayStation 5: a \$500 model that includes a disc drive, and a smaller \$400 disc-free version that runs downloaded games. The Xbox — which also comes in two models, the \$500 Series X and the \$300 Series S — will launch on Tuesday.

There are many types of gamers, so

we — Brian X. Chen, a PlayStation loyalist, and Mike Isaac, who grew up playing Xbox — test-drove both consoles in our homes. Earlier this week, we shared our impressions of the Xbox. This review will focus on the PlayStation 5.

BRIAN Hello again, Mike! Let's forget about Biden vs. Trump for a moment to continue our debate about Xbox vs. PlayStation.

MIKE Is the PS5 the Biden or the Trump in this analogy?

Mmmm, you know what? I'll avoid answering that.

This is the ultimate test for companies like Sony and Microsoft. Sony spent the past seven years on top with

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5

New York Post Turns Tougher on Trump

A sudden shift after long backing the president and mocking his opponents.

By KATIE ROBERTSON

Last month, The New York Post called President Trump “an invincible hero, who not only survived every dirty trick the Democrats threw at him, but the Chinese virus as well.” Then it published front-page articles trying to link

the contents of a laptop said to belong to Hunter Biden to his father, Joseph R. Biden Jr.

On Thursday, in a sudden about-face, Rupert Murdoch's scrappy tabloid published two articles with a wildly different tone. One accused the president of making an “unfounded claim that political foes were trying to steal the election.” The headline on the other described Donald Trump Jr. as the “panic-stricken” author of a “clueless tweet.”

What happened?

In short, the president appears to be going down — and The Post is not about to go with him.

With Mr. Trump headed toward a likely defeat, top editors at the tabloid told some staff members this week to be tougher in their coverage of him, said two Post employees who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe internal discussions.

In addition to the shift in tone, there will be a change in personnel: Col Allan, the Australian tabloid's

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5

Beijing Quashes Anticipated Ant I.P.O.

By RAYMOND ZHONG

This was supposed to be the week that one of China's biggest tech companies threw the most lucrative coming-out party in history, sending a swaggering message about the country's economic might during the pandemic.

Instead, China sent a different message: No private business gets to swagger unless the government is on board with it.

Regulators pulled the plug Tuesday on the initial public offering of Ant Group, the internet fi-

nance giant, which had been all but ready to press “Go” on its \$34 billion stock debut in Shanghai and Hong Kong.

The I.P.O. would have brought in more cash than did Saudi Aramco, the state-run oil giant, when it went public last year. And Ant would have raised the money on the opposite side of the planet from New York, which has long been the favored listing destination for Chinese tech groups.

But by firing a last-minute torpedo at Ant and Jack Ma, the com-

pany's controlling shareholder and celebrity founder of the e-commerce titan Alibaba, the authorities made clear that international bragging rights mattered less than ensuring private companies know where they stand next to the state.

Ant sits at the intersection of two industries — finance and tech — that are facing intense scrutiny everywhere. American officials are circling the giants of Silicon Valley, plotting a reckoning for the

CONTINUED ON PAGE B3

The Digest

ONLINE MARKETPLACE

E-Commerce Platform
Forms Luxury Partnership

Days after LVMH agreed to go ahead with its acquisition of Tiffany & Co., the global luxury industry has produced a new landmark deal that will unite some of its biggest names.

Richemont, the Swiss luxury watch and jewelry maker, and Artemis, the holding company of French luxury goods group Kering, are joining the Chinese e-commerce titan Alibaba to invest \$1.15 billion in Farfetch, a luxury e-commerce platform based in East London but listed in New York.

The aim? To create a new Chinese marketplace that will capitalize on the country's booming demand for luxury goods. The partnership could also herald further consolidation in the fragmented online luxury market at a time of dramatic upheaval in global retail.

Shares in Farfetch jumped more than 11 percent in premarket trading.



TOBY MELVILLE/REUTERS

At a time when Amazon continues to invest heavily in its luxury fashion operations, the deal confirms Farfetch as the leading player in the Western luxury market. Unlike rivals, Farfetch has seen flying sales this year, reporting \$721 million in sales in the second quarter.

The Chinese luxury market, which is expected to account for half of global luxury sales by 2025, has seen a strong recovery this year as shoppers emerging from Covid-19 lockdowns splurged online or in retail stores.

ELIZABETH PATON

ENERGY
Uniper Re-evaluating
Plans for Gas Terminal

Uniper, a German energy provider, said Friday that it was "re-evaluating" plans to build a half-billion-dollar liquefied natural gas terminal on Germany's northern coast.

Germany has been under pressure from the Trump administration to build L.N.G. terminals so that it can buy natural gas produced by the U.S. fracking industry. The terminals are also seen as offering Germany a measure of energy security from relying too heavily on Russia for natural gas.

But Uniper said in a news release that oil and gas companies had shied away from making binding commitments to use the terminal, which was being planned for the port of Wilhelmshaven to handle volumes equivalent to roughly 10 percent of German gas consumption. Energy

consumption has fallen because of the pandemic

Uniper will now consider other options including a smaller unit than originally planned for receiving the liquefied gas and added facilities that could be used to import hydrogen, a clean fuel that is attracting increased attention.

The proposed terminal was one of three that has been under consideration in Germany, which has no direct means to import the fuel.

The German government has supported establishment of one or more import facilities, partly in response to lobbying from the Trump administration for Germany and Europe to buy more natural gas produced by the fracking industry in the United States.

Some analysts have said an administration led by Joseph R. Biden Jr., might be less supportive of the American oil and gas industry than Mr. Trump. Mr. Biden has said that he wants to encourage a transition to cleaner forms of energy.

STANLEY REED



S&P 500 INDEX
-0.03%
3,509.44



DOW JONES INDUSTRIALS
-0.24%
28,323.40



NASDAQ COMPOSITE INDEX
+0.04%
11,895.23



10-YEAR TREASURY YIELD
0.83%
+0.4 points



CRUDE OIL (U.S.)
\$37.14
-\$1.65



GOLD (N.Y.)
\$1,950.30
+\$5.00

Rally Subsides as Election Uncertainty Sets In

By The Associated Press

Wall Street took a breather on Friday after a blistering rally that gave the market its biggest weekly gain since April and indicated investors see plenty of benefits from more gridlock in Washington.

STOCKS & BONDS

The S&P 500 inched down 1.01 point, or less than 0.1 percent, to 3,509.44, leaving its blockbuster gain for the week at 7.3 percent. The wild week was dominated by an election that, as of Friday afternoon, had yet to definitively show who the next U.S. president would be or which party would control the next Congress.

While stocks cooled, the bond market got a shot of optimism about the economy from a report showing that U.S. employers hired more workers last month than economists had expected. Treasury yields climbed, a sign of improved confidence.

This week's gains for stocks more than made up the sharp losses from the prior week, when all the uncertainty around the election helped send markets tumbling.

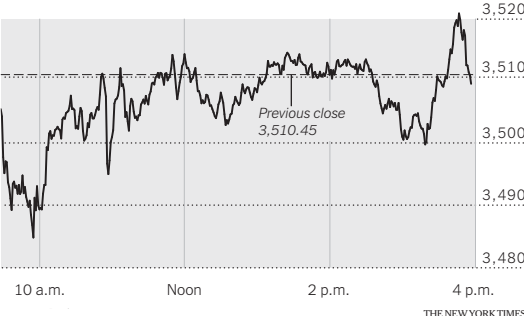
Even though plenty of uncertainties remain, stocks surged after early election results indicated that control of Congress could remain split between Democrats and Republicans. That raised investors' expectations that business-friendly policies may stick around in Washington, regardless of who wins the presidency. The gains were so forceful, though, that analysts cautioned more volatility may be ahead given all the risks that remain for the market.

The Dow Jones industrial average slipped 66.78 points, or 0.2 percent, to 28,323.40. The Nasdaq composite edged up by 4.30 points, or less than 0.1 percent, to 11,895.23. For both the Dow and S&P 500, Friday's tiptoe lower was their first loss of the week.

The yield on the 10-year Treasury climbed to 0.83 percent from 0.79 percent late Thursday after the federal government said that employers added 638,000 jobs last month. The stronger-than-ex-

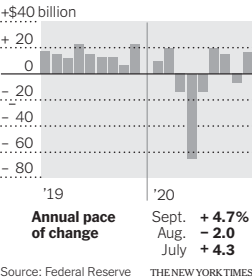
The S&P 500 Index

Position of the S&P 500 index at 1-minute intervals on Friday.



Consumer Borrowing

Net change in total consumer debt, excluding mortgages, seasonally adjusted.



pected tally suggests the economic recovery may still be intact, though it also marked another slowdown in monthly job growth.

The rally helped the 10-year Treasury yield claw back some of its recent slide. It had risen to 0.90 percent earlier this week when expectations were rising that a Democratic sweep of Tuesday's elections could open the door for a big stimulus effort for the economy.

Electoral results so far, though, have sharply cut the prospects for such a "blue wave." President Trump's Democratic opponent, Joseph R. Biden Jr., looks to be closing in on the presidency, with votes still being counted in sev-

eral key states, but Republicans held onto several seats in the Senate that were considered vulnerable.

Control of the Senate by Republicans is also still not a certainty, even if indications lean that way. It could depend on results from a January runoff election in Georgia, and a surprise there could upset markets.

Another risk for the market is that of a drawn-out, disputed election. Markets see cause for optimism if either candidate wins, and what investors want more than anything is for a clear winner to emerge. But Mr. Trump's campaign has already filed legal challenges in several states. If the election drags on through court challenges, the resulting rise in uncertainty may send stocks spinning, analysts say.

Among Wall Street's biggest losers on Friday was Electronic Arts, whose shares slumped 7.1 percent. It reported stronger results for the latest quarter than analysts had expected, but fell short of forecasts for revenue.

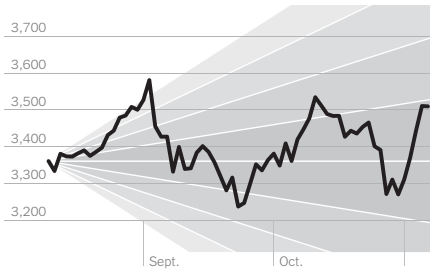
On the winning side was CVS Health, which rose 5.8 percent after it named Karen Lynch, a veteran insurance executive, as its next chief executive and reported better results for the latest quarter than expected.

European markets closed mostly lower and Asian markets ended mostly higher.

What Happened in Stock Markets Yesterday

POWERED BY
REFINITIV

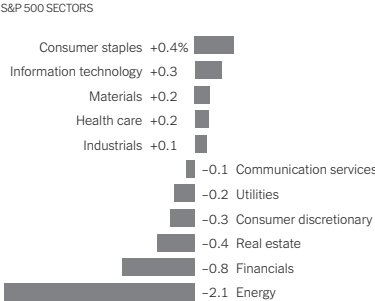
S&P 500 3509.44 ↓ 0.03%



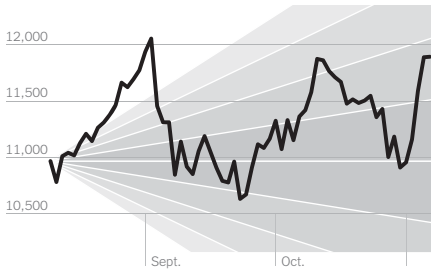
Best performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. News Corp (NWSA)	\$15.14	+8.9%
2. News Corp (NWSA)	15.16	+8.3
3. Mettler-Toledo (MTD)	1181.11	+7.0
4. Albemarle Corp (ALB)	112.22	+6.4
5. Microchip Te (MCHP)	125.28	+5.8
6. CVS Health Co (CVS)	64.95	+5.8
7. T-Mobile US (TMUS)	123.56	+5.4
8. Paycom Softw (PAYC)	388.12	+4.0
9. Take-Two Int (TTWO)	175.19	+3.9
10. WW Grainger (GWW)	390.63	+3.5

Sector performance



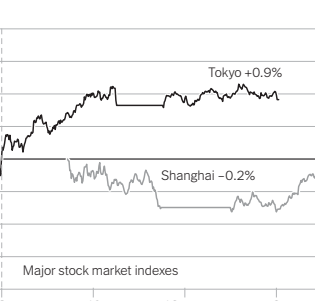
Nasdaq Composite Index 11895.23 ↑ 0.04%



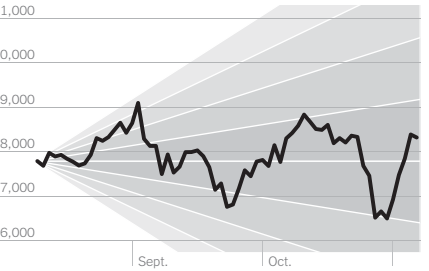
Worst performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Flowserve Cor (FLS)	\$28.65	-9.4%
2. DXC Technolog (DXC)	18.11	-7.5
3. NortonLifeLo (NLOK)	20.39	-7.4
4. Electronic Art (EA)	119.19	-7.1
5. ViacomCBS In (VIAC)	29.30	-6.4
6. Cigna Corp (CI)	201.47	-5.9
7. HollyFrontier (HFC)	17.57	-5.9
8. Regency Centre (REG)	34.05	-5.9
9. ONEOK Inc (OKE)	26.89	-5.8
10. Diamondback (FANG)	24.74	-5.6

How stock markets fared yesterday in Asia ...



Dow Jones industrials 28323.40 ↓ 0.2%



Municipal bond funds

	TOTAL RETURN 1 YR	5 YRS	TOTAL ASSETS IN BIL.
1. Vanguard Inter-Term Tx-Ex Adm (VWIUX)	+4.5%	+3.6%	\$75.1
2. Vanguard Ltd-Term Tx-Ex Adm (VMLUX)	+3.2	+2.2	31.2
3. Vanguard Short-Term Tx-Ex Adm (VWSUX)	+1.9	+1.5	19.0
4. Vanguard CA Inter-Term Tax-Exempt Adm (VCADX)	+4.3	+3.6	15.8
5. Vanguard Long-Term Tax-Exempt Adm (VWLUX)	+5.2	+4.6	14.6
6. Vanguard High-Yield Tax-Exempt Adm (VWHLX)	+3.7	+4.8	13.7
7. American Funds Tax-Exempt Bond A (AFTEX)	+3.7	+3.6	12.9
8. Franklin CA Tax Free Income A1 (FKTFX)	+4.2	+4.3	11.2
9. Franklin Federal Tax Free Income A1 (FKTIX)	+4.0	+3.2	6.9
10. Invesco High Yield Municipal A (ACTHX)	+0.4	+4.6	6.0

Source: Morningstar

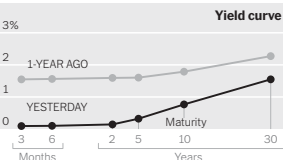
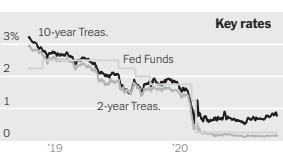
... in Europe



... and in the Americas.

What Is Happening in Other Markets and the Economy

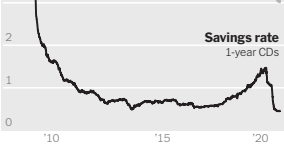
Bonds



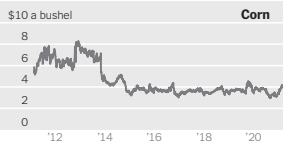
Currencies



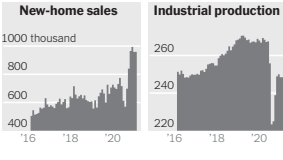
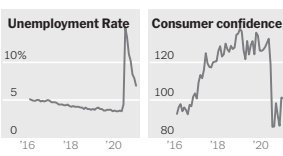
Consumer rates



Commodities



Economy



Beijing Sends Warning to Businesses, Halting Ant’s Anticipated I.P.O.

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
power they wield over commerce and society.

Yet in China, the authorities under Xi Jinping, the country’s top leader, have brought a steely, uncompromising edge to their tactics for enforcing the Communist Party’s will.

Globe-straddling conglomerates have been leashed. A tycoon was disappeared into custody. In September, Ren Zhiqiang, a wealthy, politically connected property developer, was sentenced to 18 years in prison after he criticized Mr. Xi for the government’s handling of the coronavirus.

After Mr. Xi declared war on food waste this year, the official news media and video platforms turned against streamers who recorded themselves chowing down on extravagant spreads — a niche category of internet fame, but a remunerative one for its stars.

“What happened to Ant reinforces that sense that it’s really essential to show respect for party-state authority,” said Kellee S. Tsai, the dean of the School of Humanities and Social Science at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. “Capitalists have to play by the political rules of the game.”

For many businesses in China, this has been a year to be thankful — all things considered — for the government. Economic growth is bounding back. The authorities are keeping the virus largely under control.

Ant filed to go public in August, nearly a decade after the company was spun out of Alibaba. Ant’s Alipay app is used by more than 730 million people every month. It has become a major portal for personal credit, loans, investments and insurance in addition to a payment tool. But getting to this point was a long journey for



ALY SONG/REUTERS

The Shanghai office of Alipay, which is owned by Ant Group, the internet finance giant that had its I.P.O. halted.

Ant, one with numerous dust-ups with regulators.

More controls were on the way. China’s banking and insurance regulator discussed new rules for online lenders in September. Tighter supervision of financial holding companies was scheduled to go into effect on Nov. 1.

Late last month, as Ant’s mega I.P.O. was coming together, Mr. Ma made an appearance at a financial conference, the Bund Summit in Shanghai. He spoke after bigwigs including Wang Qishan, China’s vice president, and Yi Gang, the central bank governor.

“Our next speaker needs little introduction,” the host said. “He says he came to the Bund Summit today to throw a bomb.”

A camera catches Mr. Ma standing up from his seat and shrugging, as if caught off guard.

“I’m not throwing any bombs,” he said once he reached the podium. “Who would dare throw a bomb?”

He then proceeded to throw several bombs. He roasted financial regulators for being obsessed with minimizing risk, even though, he said, “there is no innovation in this world without risk.” He accused China’s banks of behaving like “pawnshops” by lending only to those who could put up collateral.

The audience applauded politely as he left the stage. But state-run news outlets criticized his remarks in the days that followed.

After Ant set the listing price for its stock, investors stamped to place orders. More than five million people applied in Shanghai alone. The total number of shares they wanted to buy was 870 times the number being offered.

Expected to have generated the world’s largest share sale.

But on Monday evening, financial regulators announced that they had summoned Mr. Ma and other company executives for a meeting. In a shock announcement the next night, the Shanghai Stock Exchange called time on the

I.P.O.

One wag on social media called Mr. Ma’s remarks in Shanghai “the most expensive speech in history.”

It was not a speech he had been under any obvious obligation to give. Mr. Ma retired from Alibaba last year and has no formal role in Ant’s management. His net worth has been estimated to be more than \$50 billion.

In recent months, his public work has had to do with fighting the pandemic, improving rural education and empowering entrepreneurs in Africa. At the Shanghai summit, he was introduced as a chairman of the U.N. High-Level Panel on Digital Cooperation and a U.N. Sustainable Development Goals advocate.

By opining on financial regulation, Mr. Ma struck at a sensitive subject. In recent years, China has reined in a proliferation of fly-by-night online loan operations. The country had 5,000 such lenders not long ago, according to regulators. By the end of September, there were only six.

This week, the state news media framed the decision to suspend Ant’s I.P.O. as a prudent one taken to protect investors.

Andrew Collier, the founder and managing director of Orient Capital Research, said he believed that protecting China’s big government-run banks was a factor in the move. Banks pay Ant fees to help them extend credit to customers they might not otherwise serve, but at a cost to their own profitability.

“My personal view is that the banks were looking for an excuse to nip this in the bud and also give them adequate time to try to get their own online operations up to speed,” he said.

Mr. Collier added: “Twenty years ago, when China needed global capital more, and was also

much less confident about its own scope in the world,” the leadership “would have been very loath to do this, because it would make them look indecisive.”

Today, China’s leaders care less about how their actions look overseas than about fulfilling domestic priorities. The rupture with the United States on trade, technology and other fronts has led the Communist Party to reaffirm Mr. Xi’s broad mandate to steer China through turbulent times.

“They are trying to figure out a balanced course between opening and maintaining control in this entirely new environment,” said Minxin Pei, a professor of government at Claremont McKenna College. “Coming out of Covid, even though China has done well, there’s a lot of unknowns ahead.”

“The sentiment is one of uncertainty, caution,” Mr. Pei said. “When you have Ant, which is truly gigantic, which will allow people to move money around a lot more easily, with very little transparency, really — that can worry the hell out of them.”

On Friday, Ant was in the process of refunding investors who put down money for a piece of the thwarted I.P.O.

Sha Sha, 33, an insurance broker in Hong Kong, borrowed more than \$20,000 to get in on the action. She applied to buy 2,500 Hong Kong shares at around \$10.30 apiece, but was allotted only 50 shares.

She had been excited to take part in such a historically significant listing. Now she is more circumspect.

“It definitely feels like there are greater uncertainties,” Ms. Sha said. “In half a year, if there are new listing plans, I will be more careful and put more thought into it.”

Cao Li contributed reporting.

Trump Goes to War With His Bullhorn Over a Boatload of Misleading Tweets

By KATE CONGER

Twitter flagged half of President Trump’s 14 posts on Thursday for including disputed or misleading information, as the company takes a far more aggressive approach to battling misinformation on its platform.

In the hours and days after the election, the president repeatedly lashed out about vote counting and lobbed unsubstantiated claims of widespread voter fraud. Through Friday afternoon, Twitter labeled 15 of the 44 tweets and retweets Mr. Trump posted since the first polls closed on Election Day, according to a New York Times analysis.

Before the election, the company had flagged only a handful of his tweets for violating policies against the glorification of vio-

lence and misinformation about the civic process.

In the early hours of Friday, Mr. Trump fired back, referring to a law that provides a legal safe harbor to Twitter and other social media companies.

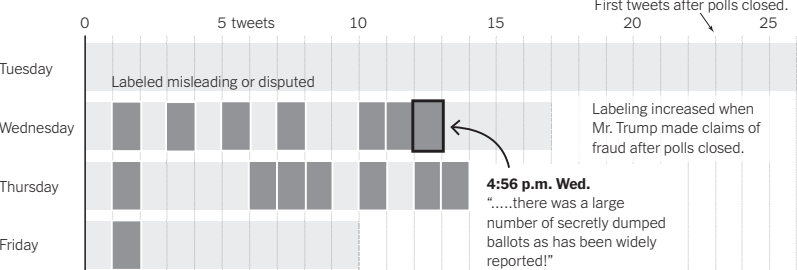
For months, Twitter has been locked in a fight with the president over what he can and cannot tweet. In May, the company began adding fact-checks and labels to his posts as a way to demonstrate that Mr. Trump had broken its policies. (Twitter does not require word leaders to delete tweets that break its rules, as it does regular users.) Mr. Trump responded by signing an executive order intended to chip away at the protections of Section 230, which is part of the 1996 Communications Decency Act.

Twitter has broken ranks with other social media companies in its persistent effort to moderate the president. Mark Zuckerberg, Facebook’s chief executive, has said he has no desire to fact-check Mr. Trump. Facebook said it would caution users about premature claims of victory with a notification that the election had yet to be called, and took action on some of his posts in which he claimed the election was being stolen.

The battle between Twitter and Mr. Trump has become a round-the-clock event since the election, as the president has increasingly, without evidence, questioned the voting process and the results.

Twitter’s labeling of Mr. Trump’s tweets meant that people needed to click through their warnings to see the posts, making

President Trump’s Tweets Since Election Day



Data compiled by Kate Conger | Note: As of 5:00 p.m. Eastern time Friday.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

each one harder to share. In the past, those actions by Twitter have helped slow the overall spread of false or potentially misleading tweets, according to an analysis by the Election Integrity Partnership, a coalition of misinformation researchers.

The Trump campaign said Twitter was working to “silence the president.” A Twitter spokesman

said the company planned to continue to take action against tweets that prematurely declared victory or contained misleading information.

Members of Mr. Trump’s family and staff have also tested Twitter’s boundaries, forcing the company to keep pace as they claimed that he had won the vote in Pennsylvania, a race that had yet to be

called by Friday afternoon. And as key states appeared to tip in favor of Joseph R. Biden Jr., Twitter also added labels to tweets from Democrats who pre-emptively claimed Mr. Biden had won the presidency.

With votes still being counted, Twitter’s challenge isn’t over. And even when a winner is declared, Twitter may continue its effort to moderate Mr. Trump.

How the White House Rolled Back Financial Regulations Established Under Obama

This article is by Emily Flitter, Jeanna Smialek and Stacy Cowley.

On the campaign trail in 2016, Donald J. Trump promised to roll back regulations he said were stymying American businesses and Wall Street. Once elected, he chose agency heads that were willing to carry out those promises.

For banks and other financial firms, that brought a cast of characters, including Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin, Federal Reserve Vice Chair Randal K. Quarles and Comptroller of the Currency Joseph Otting. Working from a blueprint drawn up early in the administration, they and other regulators eased restrictions on the finance industry, including those that had been put in place by the Obama administration after the 2008 financial crisis.

Some of the changes were small, but together they amount to a significant regulatory shift. Financial firms now face lesser consequences for taking too much risk or abusing customers, which could pave broader paths to a new financial crisis, critics say.

Here’s a look at some of the changes that were made under President Trump.

Consumer Protections

Payday lending: In late 2017, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau finalized tough new restrictions on payday lending that would have prevented most customers from repeatedly re-borrowing, a pattern that can trap borrowers in a cycle of debt. But a director appointed by Mr. Trump, Kathleen Kraninger, took over the bureau in 2018 and delayed the new restrictions from taking effect. This year, she rescinded them. A coalition of consumer ad-

vocates filed a lawsuit last week challenging the legality of Ms. Kraninger’s actions.

Rent-a-bank rules: Many states have caps on the interest rate that lenders can charge on loans. But there’s a catch: Lenders can skirt the rule by partnering with a bank in another state — one without rate caps — and having that bank issue its loans. The bank then sells the loan to the lender. The tactic, often used by online lenders, is known as “rent-a-bank,” and the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency — under Brian P. Brooks, the acting head of the office — finalized two rules this year, one in May and one last week, affirming that the maneuver is legal. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation also issued a rule in June giving the arrangement a green light. (Both the F.D.I.C. action and the O.C.C.’s May rule have been challenged by state attorneys general in lawsuits that are pending.)

Fiduciary rule rollback: The Obama-era Labor Department imposed a rule that would have forced financial advisers and brokers handling retirement and 401(k) accounts to act as “fiduciaries,” a legal standard that requires putting customers’ interests first. But in 2018, a federal appeals court ruled that the agency had overstepped its authority, and the Trump administration didn’t challenge the decision, which killed the rule. There was, however, a silver lining for consumers: Some economic research has found signs that the high-profile fight over the rule, and the increased attention it brought to how brokers are compensated, led the financial-services industry to alter its behavior and reduce brokers’ incentives to push costly retirement products.



ERIN SCOTT/REUTERS

Randal K. Quarles, the vice chairman of the Federal Reserve, followed the White House’s blueprint to ease restrictions on the financial industry.

Debt collection rules: The C.F.P.B. finalized new debt-collection rules last week that will, for the first time, let collectors contact borrowers through text messages, emails and social media direct messages. Electronic messages will be required to include an opt-out option. Collectors say the long-sought change will make it easier for them to reach borrowers; consumer advocates fear it will unleash a fresh barrage of intrusive communications. The new rules added one new protection for consumers: Collectors, who are notorious for their deluge of phone calls, will be limited to seven calls per week to a borrower.

Anti-Discrimination Policies

Tracking bias in home loans: This spring, citing the “operational challenges” banks and other mortgage lenders were facing as a result of the coronavirus pandemic, the C.F.P.B. announced that it would stop collecting detailed data on new mortgages, including information about the borrower’s race and location, which

researchers and community groups say is crucial to ferreting out discrimination in home lending. Democratic lawmakers have asked the agency to start collecting the data again, but so far it has not done so.

The Community Reinvestment Act: In May, the O.C.C., which regulates banks, revised its requirements for those institutions to do business in low-income and minority communities, despite objections from Fed officials and a refusal by another bank regulator, the F.D.I.C., to sign on to the new rules. It was a rare regulatory split caused chiefly by a concern that the new methods did not make sense and could allow banks to win credit for activities that had little meaningful impact on the communities they are required to serve.

Blocking discrimination claims: The Department of Housing and Urban Development makes the rules for identifying and stopping discrimination by landlords and mortgage providers. One such rule governs the concept of “dis-

parate impact,” where the policies of a landlord or a bank may unintentionally disadvantage a Black or Latino person seeking a home loan or trying to rent an apartment. In August, H.U.D. finalized a rewrite of the requirements for bringing “disparate impact” claims that critics said would immediately invalidate almost all potential claims. The change, although meant to benefit financial firms, was so drastic that banks, insurance companies and other big firms took the unprecedented step of asking the department not to go through with it.

Openings for Risky Business

Volcker Rule: The Volcker Rule was created as part of the Dodd-Frank law to prevent banks from taking risky bets in the financial markets for the sake of profit. It stipulated that banks could trade only on behalf of their customers and required them to start keeping records to prove their compliance. This year, the Fed and its fellow regulatory agencies changed the rule to allow banks to invest heavily in venture capital funds — which make bets on start-ups or high-growth businesses that are risky by nature — and credit funds, which invest in corporate debt. Critics said the change represented the first step toward letting banks make their own risky bets again, even if no customers were asking them to do so.

Capital requirements: Banks are required under Dodd-Frank to hold a certain amount of capital in reserve as a buffer against crisis. Bank executives dislike high capital requirements, which force them to limit stock buybacks and dividend payments, both of which can help lift share prices. Mr. Quarles, the Fed vice chair for su-

pervision and a Trump appointee, has favored regulatory tweaks that give banks more certainty about their future capital requirements. Critics say that over time, having that certainty could allow banks to reduce the amount of capital they actually hold, since many had held extra capital to avoid big swings from year-to-year.

Last year, Mr. Quarles, a former private equity investor, instituted greater transparency around bank stress tests, which assess how their capital would hold up against a shock. More recently, the Fed streamlined the process for setting capital requirements, including tweaks that Governor Lael Brainard said might allow some banks to lower their buffers.

Tailoring: It isn’t just the biggest banks that have gotten a regulatory break under the Trump administration. Smaller institutions, including banks that are sometimes called “super-regional,” have also benefited. An October 2019 “tailoring” rule reduced risk-rated compliance requirements for banks with up to \$700 billion in assets. While much of that was mandated by legislation, the Fed also extended the break to firms including Capital One, PNC Financial and U.S. Bancorp.

Supervision: Bank supervision — the act of applying rather than just setting the rules — is one of the most important functions of the Fed. Under the Trump administration, a quiet, but potentially profound, shift is underway that could eventually limit the role of supervisors. Currently, supervisors have wide discretion and have sometimes applied rules strictly. Mr. Quarles has suggested that lawyers should look into whether they have too much leeway.

EMPLOYMENT

Economy Improving, But the Damage Is Far From Fully Repaired

By NEIL IRWIN

Are you, by nature, an optimist or a pessimist? Either way, the Bureau of Labor Statistics has some numbers for you.

That is the reality of the October employment report, which on Friday showed evidence that the economy was healing from its pandemic-induced collapse last spring, but also scars suggesting that the harm it did may linger for a long time to come.

To start with the happier signs: Employers added 638,000 jobs in October, and that number was held back because the Census Bureau cut 147,000 temporary positions as it wound down its once-a-decade count. If you exclude those losses, the 785,000 net jobs added represent an acceleration from the rate of job gains in September. At that ad-

6.9 percent, a steeper drop than any single month in the 71 years of employment data stretching from 1948 to 2019. (There have been three other months in the pandemic recovery this year with steeper declines.)

A look at the industries that are adding jobs suggests this recovery is relatively broad-based. In particular, some of the sectors that would be expected to keep bleeding jobs if we were settling in for a protracted recession are rebounding. Construction employment rose by 84,000 in October, retail rose by 104,000, and transportation and warehousing was up by 63,000. Temporary help services employment rose by 109,000, a sign that employers need more labor even if they aren't willing to make permanent hires yet.

All that is particularly impressive when you consider that we're now starting to feel the brunt of the expiration of federal bailout efforts. The \$1,200 stimulus checks many Americans received in the spring have probably already been spent. Expanded unemployment benefits have now been unavailable for three months. There has been no re-upping of the government's program to support small businesses. Yet the economy has not fallen into the abyss.

So it is entirely reasonable to celebrate the progress the economy is making.

If, on the other hand, you take a more dour approach, there is a lot of reason to worry about the ways the economy is still deeply broken — and about the signs

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justed rate, the economy would return to pre-pandemic levels in 13 months.

The share of Americans who say they are working rose by 0.8 of a percentage point, a sharp improvement in terms of its level and in terms of the pace of improvement. The employment-to-population ratio rose only 0.1 of a percentage point in September.

And the unemployment rate fell by a full percentage point to



KATHERINE MARKS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The restaurant industry and other parts of the “accommodation and food services” sector added back jobs, but new shutdowns would imperil those gains.

that healing will not be a speedy process, especially if the coronavirus pandemic continues to worsen over the winter, as appears likely.

For one, even if this rate of job creation can keep up for another 13 months, that still implies a lengthy period in which the economy is functioning far below potential. That in turn implies that many people who want to work will remain jobless for reasons out of their control. They may be out of work for long enough that they are at risk of

losing their connections to the labor force and their skills, as well as the income they need to support their families.

Part of what made the 2008-9 recession so damaging was that the slow recovery left many people on the sidelines of the work force for months or years, and the risk is of a repeat of that episode.

In October, for example, the number of long-term unemployed — those out of work for more than half a year — rose by 50 percent to 3.6 million, and now

account for about a third of total unemployment. It is considerably more damaging to be out of work for long periods than for short periods, and that is the type of unemployment that is rising.

Some of the job gains are taking place in sectors that would be highly vulnerable if rising virus caseloads caused new shutdowns. Restaurants and hotels — “accommodation and food services” in the more formal government classifications — added 226,000 positions in Octo-

ber, about 35 percent of total job creation.

Those jobs may go away again if public health concerns cause a new retrenchment in those industries — and the latest data on coronavirus infection rates suggests that is a possibility.

The deeper the hole, the harder it is to fill back in. The United States is filling in the deep economic hole caused by the pandemic. But at the rate things are going, Americans will be at risk of falling in for quite some time to come.

Jobs Report Shows Gains, Largely in Sectors Very Vulnerable to a Virus Surge

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

“We’re starting to see headwinds,” Diane Swonk, chief economist at the accounting firm Grant Thornton in Chicago, said of the report. “The drop in the unemployment rate is welcome news, but there are still over 11 million unemployed workers.”

After strong gains in the third quarter, the pace of economic growth has eased as federal relief measures enacted at the pandemic’s onset have begun to expire. Prospects of another round of aid have faded with Democrats and Republicans at odds over the size of the package.

The Labor Department report also underscored the uneven nature of the pandemic-induced recession and subsequent recovery, in which low-wage employees have fared far worse than more highly skilled workers.

In October, the unemployment rate for high school graduates stood at 8.1 percent, and joblessness among college graduates was 4.2 percent.

“Low-wage-workers have just been decimated,” Ms. Swonk said. “They are most at risk of falling into the ranks of the impoverished.”

Indeed, even as the unemployment rate has come down, joblessness for many has become more prolonged. The Labor Department said the number of long-term unemployed — those without work for 27 weeks or more — grew to 3.6 million in October, an increase of 1.2 million.

One-third of all unemployed workers now fall into the long-

term category, the highest share since 2014. That could also spell trouble ahead, because the long-term unemployed often find it more difficult to find work again even as jobs become available.

What’s more, the government reported the number of people accepting part-time jobs because full-time work was unavailable grew by 383,000, to 6.7 million, indicating increasing desperation.

Millions of unemployed workers have had a harder time paying bills since an emergency federal program providing \$600 a week in additional benefits expired at the end of July. Another set of federal jobless benefits will last only through the end of the year.

The Economic Policy Institute, a left-leaning research group, estimates that more than 30 million workers have lost jobs or had their hours or pay reduced in the coronavirus-related downturn.

With the Senate remaining in Republican hands, as election returns suggest, any further relief will probably be more modest than the multitrillion-dollar package that seemed likely if a “blue wave” had given Democrats control of Congress and the White House. As a result, Carl Tannenbaum, chief economist at Northern Trust in Chicago, has cut his estimate of growth next year by a full percentage point.

“The good news is that the U.S. job market is healing,” Mr. Tannenbaum said. “But full recuperation may take awhile.”

Unemployed Americans are gradually returning to the job market, with the labor force grow-

ing by 724,000 in October. The employment-to-population ratio, the share of adults who are working, rose to 57.4 percent from 56.6 percent in September — though it was still far short of the 61.2 percent recorded a year earlier.

Nicole Zappone of Naugatuck, Conn., is one of the lucky ones, after having returned to work in August following a harrowing six months of unemployment.

“It was the worst part of my life,” said Ms. Zappone, 30, who took to reading novels by James Patterson and Michael Connelly to get through each day’s lonely hours. “I’ve been working since I was 14, and this was the first time I was laid off. And it was hard to comprehend.”

In years past, she had worked in a consignment shop and done babysitting and dog walking. Finding work had never been hard — until now.

Indeed, when she was let go as a substitute teacher in Waterbury, Conn., in March, she had no idea how severe the effect of the virus and the ensuing lockdown would be. By summer, she was applying for job after job online with no response.

“I felt like a failure, even though I knew it was beyond my control,” she said. “I can’t tell you how many jobs I applied for.”

When she got a nibble from a local information technology com-

pany for a public-relations job, she couldn’t believe her luck. One week after a phone interview, she was hired for a 20-hour-a-week position that she hopes will become full time. She is working from home and has been in the office once — to sign her contract.

“I love it,” she said. “I get to use my passion for writing and talk to people from all over the country.”

For others, regaining a job has been a bigger challenge.

Jodi Jackson, 57, worked as a buyer for J.C. Penney at the company’s headquarters in Plano, Texas, until she was laid off in April 2019. She has looked for a job as a buyer at other chains, with no success. And she has considered moving into another field.

“I could do sales, and I’ve tried to switch, but unless you know

somebody, it’s hard to get an interview,” Ms. Jackson said.

“I was born to be a buyer,” she added. “I would buy screws and nails for Home Depot at this point.”

An uneven recovery and an uncertain outlook for new aid.

Ms. Jackson worked for the Census Bureau for three months, but that job ended last month. “I don’t live above my means,” she said. She sold her condominium in Ann Arbor, Mich., before moving to Plano in 2019, she said, and has mostly been living off the proceeds of that sale. (She collected

unemployment benefits after her J.C. Penney layoff, and may do so again based on the loss of the census job.)

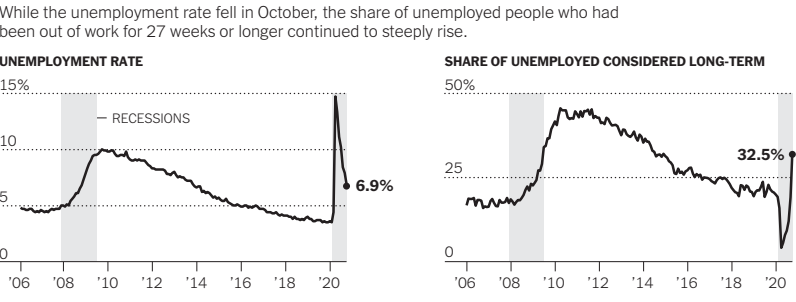
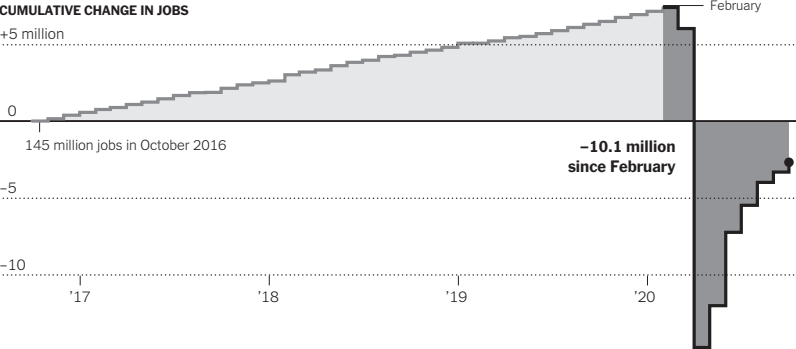
She took a temporary job as a cashier at Macy’s during the holiday rush last year. “It was only \$9.45 an hour, which was a fraction of what I earned at J.C. Penney,” she said. “But I wanted to work and to be around people. And retail is something I know.”

Ms. Jackson has ruled out another holiday season at Macy’s because the pay is too low. And despite the industry’s worsening problems, she has not given up hope. On Wednesday, a retailer based in Plano asked her to come in for a third interview next week.

Jeanna Smialek contributed reporting.

The Economy Is Gaining Jobs, but at a Slower Pace

The U.S. added 638,000 jobs in October, but payrolls are still far below pre-pandemic levels.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics | Note: Data is seasonally adjusted.

THE NEW YORK TIMES



ZERB MELLISH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

TECHNOLOGY | MEDIA

The Xbox Series X and S Are a Good Value. But Is That Enough?

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
Xbox's turn to win with its sleek, rectangular Series X and Series S. What are your impressions so far?

MIKE For quite some time I was an Xbox loyalist. I remember back when I was in high school and the first Halo game came out. It was a must-play game, one of the best shooters of its time. Its success made owning an Xbox a priority.

Now, nearly 20 years later, I don't have that same feeling with the Xbox Series X and Series S. There's not an exclusive, Xbox-only game that I'm generally hyped up about, you know?

BRIAN Well, the new Halo game, called Halo Infinite, was supposed to be the big launch title to market these new Xbox systems. It's a big disappointment that the director of the game stepped down and the project was delayed.

MIKE It's a huge, noticeable absence, especially when you're trying to launch a competing product to Sony — whose PlayStation 4 has dominated the market for the past seven years.

I'll give it this: Hardware-wise, the Series X has many similarities to Sony's new PlayStation. They both include solid-state drives, a storage technology that loads games faster than traditional spinning hard-disk drives.

BRIAN The new Xboxes and PlayStations also have graphics processors that support "ray tracing," which is a complex graphics rendering process that makes

lighting and shadows look more realistic. That in turn translates to much better graphics.

MIKE The Xbox controller retains the classic shape of what you're used to with an Xbox, but it is trimmed down and sleeker — a match with the more elegant, minimalist design of the new Xbox models.

But here's the thing: If the systems are on fairly level footing, technology-wise, it makes the game releases themselves that much more important.

BRIAN I agree. In terms of hardware features compared with the PlayStation, the Xbox is a tiny bit better. The Series X includes about 20 percent more storage for holding downloaded games than the PlayStation 5. The console is a compact tower that will be easier to fit into an entertainment center than the bulky PlayStation 5.

But that edge is negligible without killer games to play. For now, there isn't anything all that compelling. Launch titles include Assassin's Creed: Valhalla, Gears Tactics and Yakuza: Like a Dragon, among others. I tried a handful of launch games, and the graphics looked great and the console felt fast, but the games were not appealing to me.

The immediately attractive selling point of the Xbox is the Xbox Game Pass subscription service, which people call the Netflix of gaming. For \$10 a month, you get access to dozens of games for current and past Xbox generations, and lots of these titles are excellent. Think

Final Fantasy XV, Mass Effect, the Witcher 3 and more.

MIKE Yes, totally. So here's where I think the Xbox has a real edge: I spent time cycling through just a fraction of the enormous Game Pass library, and it was like taking a stroll through fond memories of older Xbox games I loved, not to mention games that I meant to play but never found the time to.

BRIAN On top of that, the new Xboxes do a remarkable job making the graphics on older games look good on our modern high-definition televisions. Microsoft calls this Smart Delivery: If you buy a game for Xbox One but eventually upgrade to the Xbox Series X, Microsoft will automatically install the version optimized for the Series X.

MIKE Yep. I downloaded Batman: Arkham Knight last night as well as Fallout: New Vegas — two games I hadn't thought about in years — and had a blast dipping back into them. I could immediately notice an uptick in graphic performance and definition in the Batman game, and the fighting wasn't jerky or lagging because of poor processor performance.

It made me really consider Game Pass in a new light. Maybe I'd have access to a backlog of older titles, but they could feel newer, faster, better when run on a new piece of hardware like the Series X or Series S.

BRIAN I downloaded Final Fantasy XV, and it looked way better and ran more smoothly, with a



Microsoft will release the new Xbox Series X, left, and its smaller, lower-priced sibling, the Xbox Series S, on Tuesday for \$500 and \$300.

higher frame rate, on the Series X than it ever did on my PlayStation 4. I even downloaded titles from 20 years ago, like Final Fantasy IX, and it looked surprisingly good.

MIKE Here's my question, though: If I'm throwing down anywhere from \$300 to \$500 on a next-gen console, am I doing that to go play through old games? Or am I thinking more about the games to come?

BRIAN Well, Microsoft told me in a statement that more great games, like Everwild and As Dusk Falls, are on the way. There just was no "wow" factor with this slate of launch titles thanks largely to the Halo postponement.

That said, now is a good time to bring up the differences between the cheaper Xbox and the pricier

one.

Most notably, the \$500 Series X has higher graphics performance; games can be played in 4K resolution. The \$300 Series S can play games in a lower resolution (around 1080P); the cheaper console also has about half the storage of the Series X.

I could immediately tell the difference: I opened Gears 5, a shooter, on both consoles and switched between them on my TV. The graphics in Gears 5 on the Series X were definitely more crisp and detailed.

MIKE Right. I'm curious, though. Should we worry about the lower-priced model becoming technologically irrelevant within a couple years? Basically, have they given any indication that the Series S won't be able to handle big, graphics-intensive games in

Quibbles Aside, the PlayStation 5 Is an Entertaining Behemoth

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
a slate of killer games for the PS4, and largely overshadowed the Xbox.

After a few weeks with the new PS5, what do you think? Is this another winner?

BRIAN I'll start with some disclosures. I've owned PlayStations since the first generation and never had an Xbox. But in 2006, I felt burned by the PlayStation 3, which had mostly lame games compared with Xbox 360, so I've kept an open mind for this new generation.

With that all said, I think PlayStation 5 is going to win my vote with my wallet this round. What about you?

MIKE I was reluctant to come out strong and stump for Sony, but you're right. If I were to plunk down 500 bucks on a piece of hardware right now, it would be the PS5. I want to hear what won you over.

BRIAN Let's start with hardware before we move on to games and the overall experience.

First things first: The PS5 is a behemoth. It's more than 15 inches tall — that's roughly four inches taller than the Xbox Series X. So you'll need to figure out where you're going to place it. (There's also an ugly black stand that can be screwed on to keep it more stable, but I didn't use it.)

In general, I like the console design. It looks curvy and futuristic and reminds me of a concept car.

MIKE Do you remember that computing brand Alienware? They made really expensive, insane computer systems with neon all over them? The company is part of Dell now, but I remember all of their ads in computer magazines I read during my youth. That was my immediate thought out of the box.

BRIAN Definitely, and that's basically what the PS5 is: a powerful

computer devoted to gaming. Similar to the new Xbox, it has a graphics processor that supports ray tracing, a complex rendering process that makes lighting and shadows look more realistic in graphics.

MIKE The graphics are very good. In the launch game we played, Spider-Man: Miles Morales, I could immediately tell how sharp the characters' faces and landscapes were while playing. Colors popped, like the brilliant neon purples, reds and greens. Each one of Spider-Man's various suits looked fantastic!

There is one thing I want to call out, though. I had a strange moment with the PS5 controller that struck me as potentially sensitive. It has a microphone built into it. That's convenient, since you won't immediately have to buy a separate headset to chat with friends.

But I wasn't used to it. I had a moment where I was voice-chatting a friend on my iPhone while playing Call of Duty multiplayer, and my partner in the game reminded me that he could hear me! It freaked me out.

BRIAN Oh, man. Don't carry your controller with you during bathroom breaks.

MIKE Yes, to be fair there's a button and glowing icon that tells you when it's on or off. But still, I wasn't used to it. Learning curve!

BRIAN The controller is pretty nice otherwise. It's larger and heavier than the previous PlayStation controllers but feels comfortable to hold for long sessions.

MIKE Can I geek out on the storage drive?

BRIAN Fine.

MIKE So Sony (and Microsoft) include what's called a solid-state drive for storing all of your games and apps on the system. It loads games faster than tradi-

tional spinning hard-disk drives. It makes an enormous difference. I can't tell you how much of my life has been whittled away by PS4 loading screens in the past.

BRIAN Tell me about it. Remember Red Dead Redemption 2 loading screens on the PS4?

MIKE Hah, I used to go to the kitchen and make a snack while RDR2 loaded up!

BRIAN With Spider-Man, it took about three seconds for the game to launch, and that is remarkable.

MIKE Yes, 100 percent. I've been really into Call of Duty: Warzone for the past few months — it has been my way to hang out with friends online during the pandemic — and the difference between playing it on PS5 compared with the PS4 was enormous.

For one, the solid-state drive meant that loading each session was so fast that often, I was one of the first people present in the level of every new game. And things just felt smoother.

Did you play any other games?

BRIAN I spent lots of time replaying recent PlayStation 4 titles, like Final Fantasy VII Remake and The Last of Us Part II. I also immediately noticed how much smoother those games ran. The frame rates were higher thanks to the beefier graphics processor.

Also very important: The PlayStation 5 was very quiet compared with the PlayStation 4, which had such a loud fan that I always feared that it was going to explode.

This is a good time to bring up backward compatibility — the ability to play games from previous console generations — a major selling point for both consoles.

MIKE Yes! So I'm curious about your thoughts on this.

BRIAN Over all, Microsoft wins here. The PlayStation is back-



BRANDON RUFFIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Sony's PlayStation 5 console debuts on Thursday, with a \$500 model that has a disc drive, and a \$400 disc-free version. Both stand over 15 inches tall.

ward-compatible with only PlayStation 4 games. The new Xboxes are backward-compatible with games for Xbox One, Xbox 360 and even some games for the original Xbox.

Backward compatibility always sounds nice to have, but in practice, nostalgia is not enough to win me over. I spend more time playing new games than I do revisiting old ones.

MIKE Totally fair. And Microsoft really doesn't seem to have that much new for us quite yet, right?

BRIAN As we talked about in our Xbox review, we were hamstrung

because Microsoft didn't have much compelling fresh content for us to try. Most of the games we tested were made for Windows PCs or previous generations of Xbox.

On the PlayStation, Spider-Man made a stronger first impression by demonstrating the hardware's impressive speed and graphics.

Also coming soon to PlayStation is a new God of War game, another popular franchise that is exclusive to PlayStation. Exclusives matter a lot.

MIKE One hundred percent. I am

the future?

BRIAN I asked Microsoft, and the company said it should be simple for game developers to scale the resolutions for both consoles because they share the same computing architecture.

You can see that Microsoft is aiming for a casual type of gamer with the Series S. Parents, for example, who are looking to save a few bucks and don't care about having the greatest game tech, will probably get a Series S for their children and load it up with Game Pass titles. That's a great value.

MIKE Yes, totally fair. And I think that segment of the market is real and important.

BRIAN But console launches set first impressions, and my early impression from this launch is that PlayStation will once again have most of the cool exclusives this generation. So game enthusiasts who choose one console might go for the PlayStation as opposed to the Series X.

MIKE I admit, I think you'll be proven right.

BRIAN We'll have more to say about the PlayStation this week — we're forbidden by Sony from sharing our impressions of that console at this moment thanks to these weird agreements known as review embargoes.

MIKE Looking forward to it. Meanwhile, I'll start counting the days till the next Halo game is released.

In Sudden Shift, New York Post Turns Its Irreverent Tabloid Voice Against Trump

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
loid wizard who was once seen in the Post newsroom wearing a Make America Great Again cap, will call an end to his career of more than 40 years at Murdoch papers in New York and in Sydney.

Mr. Allan, who was The Post's editor in chief from 2001 to 2016, rejoined the paper as an adviser in January 2019, just as the presidential campaign was underway. Since his return, he has had a strong hand in shaping coverage, several staff members said. He confirmed his planned retirement in an email interview.

"The Post is not perfect," Mr. Allan said. "But it articulates a view that is not obedient to liberal orthodoxy. Therefore it is dangerous. I know where I would rather be."

On Thursday, The Post published two articles in quick succession on its website. One was a skeptical dispatch from Washing-

ton on the president's Thursday night White House briefing: "Downcast Trump makes baseless election fraud claims in White House address," went the headline.

The article did not shy from critical reporting: "President Trump repeated his unfounded claim that political foes were trying to steal the election from him during a briefing on Thursday evening as he trailed his opponent and remaining swing states were leaning toward a Joe Biden presidency." The full article was not included in The Post's print edition on Friday, but the parts that called the president's claims unsubstantiated were intact.

It went online shortly after The Post published an article on its website that took aim at Mr. Trump's eldest son, who had called on the president "to go to total war over this election" in a tweet. "Panic-stricken Donald Trump Jr. calls for 'total war' in

clueless tweet," read the original headline. The story noted that the younger Mr. Trump "has a long history of using Twitter to fuel conspiracy theories." (A later version of the headline removed "panic-stricken," and the article did not make the Friday print edition.)

A spokeswoman for The Post declined to comment.

The tenor of The Post's recent Trump coverage matched the irreverent voice the paper typically applies to Hollywood celebrities and Democratic politicians. The two employees who spoke on the condition of anonymity described instances in the last two days when top editors encouraged staff members to use a rough-and-ready tabloid voice when writing about the president.

Before Election Day — as Mr. Allan worked closely with the editor in chief, Stephen Lynch, and the top digital editor, Michelle Gotthelf — The Post used its pun-

crazed front page to promote the president and knock his rivals. The headlines included "HIDIN' BIDEN" (for an article on Mr. Biden's campaign strategy) and "SHE'S COUP-COUP" (on Speaker Nancy Pelosi).

A key figure in shaping coverage is stepping down.

Several staff members said Mr. Allan had more or less run the newsroom since his return. "I have contributed little other than some minor advice," Mr. Allan said of his work on the paper's election coverage.

Over the last year, Mr. Allan has also worked closely with the columnist Miranda Devine, a fellow Australian who joined The Post in time for the 2020 campaign. She

has been an ardent supporter of Mr. Trump and one of Mr. Biden's fiercest detractors. She is the one who likened Mr. Trump to "an invincible hero" as he battled the coronavirus last month. And Ms. Devine described Mr. Biden's candidacy as "an indictment of the entire Democratic establishment that has conspired to trick America into voting for someone incapable of being president."

Mr. Allan said he would split his time between Sydney and New York. Asked if he had mounted his last stand, he replied, "Like Custer!"

In the campaign's final stretch, he was a driving force behind The Post's reporting on digital data that The Post said it had obtained from a laptop belonging to Hunter Biden. The paper's first major article on the find was published on Oct. 14 amid the doubts of Post staff members. Its lead writer refused to accept a byline for his work on it.

Two main sources were Mr. Trump's lawyer, Rudolph W. Giuliani, and his former adviser Stephen K. Bannon. The article suggested that Joseph R. Biden had directed American policy in Ukraine while he was vice president to enrich his son, a former board member of Burisma Holdings, a Ukrainian energy company. Other news organizations, including The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post and The New York Times, examined the laptop material and determined that Mr. Biden had not manipulated American foreign policy to benefit his son.

"The Post has largely supported Trump because the paper shares his vision for free markets and the opportunity they provide to raise up all people," Mr. Allan said. "We have also been critical of the president, particularly his tweeting. My personal view is that history will be very kind to Donald Trump."

Personal Business

Finding a New Path in a Pandemic

How the leader of Geojam, who had counted on concerts, has still kept artists and fans linked.

Wealth Matters

By PAUL SULLIVAN

Sarah Figueroa had worked for several years to build a company, called Geojam, that would connect fans at concerts and give sponsors a look at what was working and what wasn't.

"The dream was to connect people through music, in real life," Ms. Figueroa said. "I'm at a concert. You're also a fan. Let's link up."

Geojam, started last year, was going to meld her interests in social media, marketing, live events and music. The company planned a 50-college tour at the start of this year to test the idea.

"We had artists at every single

nesses that have made it this far struggle to get through a tough winter.

Have multiple lines within a business. Geojam was not Ms. Figueroa's first venture. At age 26, she already had a hit (Undorm, which she started while in college to advertise apartments to college students and social organizations), a miss (Lenzjam, which she called a too-early version of TikTok) and one so-so venture (One Box Agency, a music marketing agency that gave her the idea for Geojam).

She was eager to test the concept of rewarding fans for their enthusiasm while compensating artists and turning a profit. In the live event model, there would have been plenty of sponsor cash to support Geojam's planned data mining of fans' reactions to sponsors' mar-



school," she said. "Colleges were competing to win a free concert. Our investors were so excited."

Then, of course, the pandemic happened.

Yet for Geojam, that wasn't the end of the story. While the pandemic vastly curtailed live events, which like the hospitality, restaurant and travel industry ground to a near halt, the company and the artists found a way to come together.

In March, Ms. Figueroa decided to use her company's technology to directly connect artists with their fans, with a similar engagement model. More social media interactions around a particular artist equated to greater reward points for fans, who could exchange them for interactions with an artist, like one-on-one FaceTime calls, Zoom cooking classes or even an appearance in an advertising campaign.

What Ms. Figueroa, her two co-founders and investors were able to do isn't going to work for everyone. But their pivot may offer useful lessons to other entrepreneurs regardless of their wealth and experience. And those lessons may come in handy as coronavirus cases rise again and small busi-

nesses that have made it this far struggling to get through a tough winter.

ketting efforts. It was the kind of micro-targeting that sponsors are eager to have.

When the pandemic derailed that model, Geojam began tracking how often fans were streaming particular artists, for example, and rewarding them with the points. At the same time, it paid artists for their time — money that came from outside investors.

"We're still tracking what events people are attending, through livestreams on the Geojam platform," Ms. Figueroa said. "We can also see what things they're viewing and purchasing in the jam shop."

That's useful data she would not have had otherwise. She learned, for example, that fans of electronic music would rather get unique merchandise than have a direct experience with an artist. As a result, Geojam asked Dylan Matthew, an electronic musician, to create a custom jean jacket to promote his new EP.

Have artists at different points in their careers. When Geojam pivoted to a new model, it meant different things for artists at different points in their careers.

Geojam enabled Yung Pinch, a young



hip-hop artist with a following within California beach culture, to connect with fans through FaceTime and earn money for each video call he did.

"I've always been superinteractive with my fans," he said. "A D.M. now and again. But this is definitely new."

He has also played video games with fans and is running a contest to be in a music video. It's a far cry from touring, when he would meet fans after a show. But it's a way to stay engaged and keep himself busy, he said.

The company has helped artists who are established in other areas use this time to go in new directions. Ava Michelle, who starred in the Netflix film "Tall Girl," used the platform to connect her film fans with new music she was releasing. It has also helped her connect her fans to the different brands she endorses, she said.

A more established artist like the rapper Machine Gun Kelly used Geojam to introduce his new album, "Tickets to My Downfall." Before the pandemic, Machine Gun Kelly was doing hundreds of concerts a year, said his manager, Andre Cisco.

"We're usually one of the top five

touring artists in the world," Mr. Cisco said. "Once the reality of the pandemic hit, we realized we had to keep the boat moving."

There are now two billboards up in Los Angeles with an image of Machine Gun Kelly from his album and fans, shot separately, next to him. "It just seemed like something that would appeal to our fans," Mr. Cisco said.

"With limited shows, we want to keep as much energy in the fan base as we can and give them the incentive to listen to records and get once-in-a-lifetime opportunities."

Ms. Figueroa was then able to show his record label that they could get significant fan support for a fraction of the cost of a normal marketing campaign. "The billboards are an 80 percent reduction of what M.G.K. would normally cost to promote on social media," she said. "We're investing in his promotion so we can build case studies of how these experiences work, and charge for these experiences going forward."

Keep asking for money. While the products and experiences are free to

Sarah Figueroa decided to use Geojam's technology to build direct connections apart from live events. One example is the rapper Machine Gun Kelly using the company to promote his new album.

fans, they're not free to do. The company needs money to pay the artists and the companies it works with.

Ms. Figueroa was raising the company's initial round of investments when the pandemic struck. She ended up raising \$350,000 in the worst of the lockdown and closed the funding round at \$1.65 million.

"I think the investors analyzed the deck more" ahead of video calls, she said. "There was a little less emotion in the meeting. We were in beta, so they were looking at what we had. It was also helpful that we only had \$350,000 left in our round."

Jeffrey D'Alessio, an independent investor who made the last investment of the round six weeks ago, said he had gotten to know the company in the pandemic and had not met any of the principals in person. But he made the investment after several video calls because he was impressed with how they had adapted the platform.

"They had the knowledge, the marketing ability and the strategy to go one way," he said. "Considering the pandemic, they went another way. That did not dilute all the other things they did. They already had strong relationships with top artists."

Brian Mac Mahon, who runs Expert Dojo, which invests in companies owned by women or immigrants, made his investment in Geojam at the start of the pandemic. He said he had invested \$100,000 and planned to make future investments.

"When they came to us, they said artists need to have deeper relationships with fans and those who do will have more fans and make more money," he said. "I loved the idea pre-pandemic. To me, they haven't pivoted — it's the digital engagement with fans that will determine success or failure."

Bring in an advisory board. Going it alone is never easy. Ms. Figueroa had an advisory board in place long before the pandemic hit. And she was able to lean on its members when the pandemic changed her business.

One was Marcie Allen, who has arranged sponsorships for live events like South by Southwest and Billy Joel's extended residency at Madison Square Garden.

"I've worked for her for several years and knew that she would be able to pivot," said Ms. Allen, who also teaches at New York University. "They're in essence a tool provided to artists and their managers to create unique experiences. Now they're providing revenue streams for artists and a promotional opportunity."

A New Way to Help Employees Save

Many companies have announced programs to encourage money to be set aside via payroll deduction.

Your Money Adviser

By ANN CARRNS

Workers struggling to save for a rainy day are increasingly likely to have help from their employers as the economic slowdown in the pandemic has underscored Americans' need for a financial cushion.

Large companies like UPS, as well as banks, foundations and municipal governments, have recently announced programs that encourage workers to set aside cash automatically, via payroll deductions, for unexpected expenses. In some cases, employers match the contributions up to a certain level.

"We're all much more attuned to how financially fragile we are," said Timothy Flacke, the executive director and a founder of Commonwealth, a nonprofit group that promotes effective saving solutions. Research from Commonwealth found that people with emergency savings were much less likely to spend their retirement savings during the pandemic.

And research published on Friday by the AARP Public Policy Institute suggests that an emergency fund can help not just with short-term costs but also to bolster longer-term financial health.

Separately, more than half of working adults surveyed by AARP said they would probably participate in a payroll deduction emergency savings program.

The programs signal that employers are taking seriously a long-recognized problem: Many Americans struggle to save. Repeated surveys by the Federal Reserve have found that many households would find it difficult to pay an unexpected \$400 expense.

The pandemic put additional pressure on many families' finances, highlighting the need for workplace interventions, said Matt Bahl, vice president and head of workplace at the Financial Health Network, a nonprofit organization. "Employer savings programs are ascendant," Mr. Bahl said.

The network and Commonwealth are among several nonprofit groups working to promote savings with funding from the investment manager BlackRock, which last year announced an



TILL LAUER

emergency savings initiative.

It helps that regulators have made it easier for employers and companies that manage workplace benefits to seek permission to automatically enroll workers in emergency savings plans. Employers' experience with retirement savings plans shows that enrolling workers, and giving them the choice to opt out, is more effective at promoting participation than leaving employees to enroll on their own.

"The hard part in changing behavior is reducing the friction," said George Barany, director of America Saves, a campaign of the Consumer Federation of America. "The easier it is to start to save, the better."

Workplace savings programs vary in their approach. Some employers, like UPS, let workers contribute after-tax money into a saving account as part of their 401(k) retirement plan. UPS's

program, developed with Commonwealth and managed by Voya Financial, is available to the company's 90,000 nonunion employees in the United States. UPS declined to discuss details of the program.

In a statement announcing the program last month, B. J. Dorfman, UPS's director of global retirement strategy, said, "We value our workers and understand that their financial security is an important element of their success in the workplace and our success as a company."

Other programs work as stand-alone options. For instance, a program from SaverLife, a financial technology nonprofit group, offers employees at Alorica, a global customer service provider, a \$20 sign-up bonus and then matches employee contributions up to \$40 a month. So a worker who saves \$240 over six months will end up with a

Q. and A. About Workplace Savings

How much should I set aside in emergency savings?

The latest research suggests that, especially for lower- and moderate-income workers, setting modest goals — say, \$500, or a few weeks of take-home pay — is more realistic than aiming for the traditional three to six months of take-home pay, which may be too daunting. Recent findings from the Urban Institute suggested that a reserve of just \$250 could help families stave off high-interest debt and even eviction.

Also, the idea isn't to set aside a sum and let it be. Rather, the goal is to have a cushion that can be drawn on as needed and then replenished, repeatedly over time. A car may need to be fixed, so the money can be used to pay for the repair and then be replaced gradually.

"The goal of emergency savings is to use it when they need it," said Leigh Phillips, chief executive of SaverLife. "It evens out cash flow."

People often think of emergency savings as something to be used in a "break the glass" crisis that would drain the balance, said Timothy Flacke, the executive director of Commonwealth. But it's more often that the cash can tide workers over during smaller, recurring financial challenges.

balance of \$500. The employee must save at least \$10 a month to get the match.

Participants link the SaverLife program to their own savings account and choose how much they want to save, said Letisha Lamb, director of employee experience at Alorica. The program encourages seasonal goals, like saving refunds during tax time or saving for gifts during the holidays.

Becky Dillon, 30, a customer service representative at Alorica, said that she had struggled to save, but that SaverLife helped get her in the habit. "I real-

"It's more like a shock absorber," he said.

Do I have to have a bank account to participate in emergency savings programs?

Many workplace savings programs use traditional bank accounts, but payroll cards — often used to pay retail and other hourly workers — appear promising, said Catherine S. Harvey, a senior policy adviser at the AARP Public Policy Institute. An amount set aside for savings can be deposited onto a card, which can easily be used to pay for unexpected expenses when they arise. (Separate cards could be used for savings, and even employers that don't use the cards to pay workers could issue them as savings cards.)

How can I automate savings if my employer doesn't offer a program?

Ask your payroll manager to split the deposit between your checking account and your savings account, said George Barany, director of America Saves. That way, you don't have to decide how much to save each time you get a paycheck.

Some banks and credit unions still offer "Christmas club" accounts, which let people deposit small amounts of money over time to save for holiday gifts.

ized I needed to save money," she said, so she cut out fast food meals and saved the money instead.

Ms. Dillon said she liked that SaverLife let her choose the amount to save — typically, \$50 a month — and that there was no penalty if she had to skip a month. Before the pandemic hit, she had saved more than \$300. The funds helped cover extra expenses that cropped up during the shutdown, like the cost of faster internet service so her 9-year-old daughter could take classes at home.

"It's your pace, your goals," Ms. Dillon said.

SportsSaturday

The New York Times



PHOTOGRAPHS BY DEVIN OKTAR YALKIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Rapinoe Has a Lot More to Say

Soccer Star, Olympic Champion, Activist and Now Author

By ELIZABETH A. HARRIS

GREENWICH, Conn. — Megan Rapinoe, the American soccer player so decorated with medals and trophies that she's practically gilded, has a book coming out on Tuesday. But it's only kind of about sports.

Yes, important games are reconstructed and injuries recounted. But readers will also learn about redlining and how Black service members were excluded from the G.I. Bill. She writes about the pay disparity between male and female professional soccer players. And her white privilege makes its first appearance in the prologue: "A small, white, female soccer player — even a lesbian one with a loud voice and pink hair — lands differently in the press than, say, a six-foot-four-inch Black football player with an Afro."

Absent from the book are the standard admonishments that if you just work hard enough, you will, somehow, become a professional athlete.

"You know who else works hard?" Rapinoe writes. "Everyone."

Indeed, her memoir, "One Life," tracks the arc of her political awakening at least as much as it follows the path of her sports career. In the book, we find a thoroughly modern athlete who plays hard and wins a lot of games, then funnels her public profile and social-media following into activism, not just endorsements.

"There's nothing that I could tell someone about my journey as an athlete that would help them become an elite athlete," Rapinoe said in an interview last month, a bright blue beanie pulled over the pandemic haircut she received from her fiancée, the W.N.B.A. star Sue Bird.

"I wanted to write this book because there's so much more happening here than the sports," she added, "and I think we can use that as a vehicle to really talk about what I see as the most important work in my life, which is all the stuff we're doing off the field."

Rapinoe, 35, has been playing soccer professionally for more than a decade, but she burst into national consciousness in 2016. That was the year when she followed Colin Kaepernick in taking a knee during the national anthem, and when she filed a federal wage-discrimination complaint, with four of her teammates, against the United States Soccer Federation.

As she writes in the book, even though the women's team has won far more games and titles than the American men, a top women's player could expect to earn less than half what a comparable player on the men's squad makes.

"As a woman, you're in constant protest of our society," Rapinoe said. "Of course there's no space for us. We didn't build it."

But as an athlete, her public profile has certainly been helped by the women's team's success. Rapinoe has an Olympic gold medal and two FIFA World Cup title medals, which she thinks are under some paperwork in her office in Seattle. After last year's World Cup victory in France, there were TV interviews, magazine covers and a ticker-tape parade, and the team was presented with the keys to New York City. She also caught the ire of

President Trump on Twitter when she said that she would refuse an invitation to celebrate their win at the White House.

With all that came the chance for Rapinoe to write a book.

By her own admission, she does not hold her liquor terribly well, and she rolled into a day of meetings with publishers nursing a hangover after a friend convinced her to end a night at the Tribeca restaurant Marc Forgione with an ill-advised shot of Chartreuse. The last meeting of the day was with Ann Godoff, the Penguin Press founder, who has edited writers like Ron Chernow, Zadie Smith, Michael Pollan and Karl Ove Knausgaard.

Not the kind of person who would seem a natural fit for a traditional sports memoir.

Yet Godoff saw Rapinoe's story as one of transformation from athlete into activist, and she thought her life would appeal to a wide swath of people. "To tell you the truth, I went after this, and I don't really do that very much anymore," Godoff said.

Particularly appealing to Godoff, a gay baby boomer, was how out and proud Rapinoe has been. "We can do something for a generation much younger than you and much, much younger than me," she recalled saying to Rapinoe.

"If I had read this book as a 13-year-old girl," Godoff added, "something would have changed for me. And I think we'll have that."

The title of Rapinoe's book, "One Life," was Godoff's suggestion; it comes from the Mary Oliver poem "The Summer Day." ("Tell me, what is it you plan to do with your one wild and precious life?") Godoff edited her, too.

She connected Rapinoe with the author and journalist Emma Brockes, who agreed to ghostwrite the story. They spent two days at a Sheraton hotel in Orlando and many hours on the phone, as Brockes absorbed Rapinoe's life story and learned to channel her voice — though Rapinoe is not shy about cursing, and that had to be winnowed down.

"She agreed she'd give me everything she could and then withdraw or redact stuff," Brockes said. "When it came to it, she was incredibly open and honest and very little came out — nothing really. We just took down the [expletive] count."

Brockes also spoke extensively with Rapinoe's family, especially her fraternal twin sister, Rachael, and spent time with their mother, Denise, whom Brockes — the mother of twin girls herself — has subsequently called for parenting advice.

Rapinoe was raised in Redding, Calif., a conservative town where her mother

worked as a waitress and her father, Jim, worked in construction. Denise is described as the lodestar of a big, loud family, full of opinions and advice — Rapinoe has "Mammers," her mother's nickname, tattooed on her left wrist. (In true 2020 style, it was a stick-and-poke tattoo given to her by a W.N.B.A. referee on her last night in the league's bubble.)

Rapinoe is also open in the book about the continuing drug addiction of her brother, Brian, who has spent years in and out of prison. He is described with great tenderness and an eye toward the systems that have contributed to his troubles.

"The way people serving time are spoken of reminds me of the myth peddled by right-wing politicians — that the only difference between the rich and the poor is the latter's own fecklessness," Rapinoe writes. "If you are a 'repeat offender,' it's not because of structural failings within the system, just as if you are a drug addict, it's not because opioid manufacturers aggressively marketed their drugs at you until you were hooked. Instead, you are in jail, or an addict, because that is, at root, who you are."

She is candid about her romantic life, chronicling relationships with, among others, Abby Wambach, a former teammate who is now married to the writer Glennon Doyle. As told in the book, when Rapinoe arrived at college and realized she was a lesbian, her life suddenly made sense.

"Clearly I'm gay and why didn't anyone tell me?" was her first thought, she wrote. "And number two: This is awesome."

The relationship that gets the most attention is her partnership with Bird. Since leaving the W.N.B.A. bubble — in which Bird's team, the Seattle Storm, won this year's championship — the couple has been living in Greenwich, Conn., where they have been swimming, using a Tonal, which is like a high-tech Murphy bed version of a weight machine, and riding their Peloton.

Despite being one of the most decorated soccer players in the country, Rapinoe says she's not so good at the Peloton. When the output of the thousands of users who participate in each ride are displayed, she said she consistently hovers around the bottom 30 percent.

But before heading to Greenwich, Rapinoe and Bird took a trip with some friends to Antigua, where they got engaged. Rapinoe was lounging on the side of a pool, and when she went to stand up, somebody said it looked like she was kneeling. She hadn't planned on proposing just then, she said, but she'd been thinking about it daily for months, and there was no real question for either of them that they would eventually get married.

"We locked eyes, and I thought, this is definitely the moment," she said.

So Rapinoe, who wears a lot of jewelry, took a simple gold band off her own finger and proposed.

A picture of that moment went viral. Even former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. retweeted it and offered his congratulations. No such congratulations were forthcoming from Mr. Trump.



A member of the U.S. national soccer team, Megan Rapinoe has joined in a federal wage-discrimination complaint. Her new memoir is called "One Life."

Cohen, Turner, And Cora Ride Wave of Mercy

As the presumptive new owner of the Mets last week, Steven A. Cohen spent days answering fans' questions on Twitter. The Mets' loyalists, he wrote, are the "most knowledgeable fans around" — and Cohen has always been one of them.

On Friday, when he closed on a record \$2.475 billion purchase of his favorite team, Cohen started his tenure with precisely the kind of move a frustrated Mets fan would make, clearing out a front office that had failed to take the Mets back to the postseason. Cohen fired five members of the baseball operations staff, including General Manager Brodie Van Wagenen, three assistants and the player development director, Jared Banner.

The Cohen developments were part of an impressive news dump around Major League Baseball on Friday, joining the league's decision not to punish Justin Turner for celebrating the World Series title last week with his Dodgers teammates, despite having just tested positive for the coronavirus, and the return of Alex Cora to manage the Boston Red Sox. All three stories, in a way, were underscored by a quality too often missing these days: mercy.

This is an era of outrage, in and out of sports, in which every transgression seems to mean eternal condemnation, or at least stern scolding and moralizing. After a while, punishment often feels like shame for the sake of shame.

Cohen, for his part, was approved by league owners on Oct. 30 — with four dissenting votes — despite baggage that includes several discrimination claims filed by women against his firm, Point72 Asset Management, and the insider-trading finding against his former company, SAC Capital Partners, in 2013. Cohen has never been charged with a crime, but SAC Capital Partners paid \$1.8 billion in fines.

But with Cohen's deep pockets, and abiding love for the team, now controlling the Mets, the options in free agency are dizzying: Catcher J. T. Realmuto, outfielder George Springer, starter Trevor Bauer and infielder D. J. LeMahieu headline a sneaky-deep class of available players, and the Mets also have flexibility to trade for contracts their rivals want to unload. Cohen's respect for the power of analytics — a field that Sandy Alderson, the Mets' former general manager and new team president, helped pioneer with the Oakland A's — should help keep the team from making rash decisions.

This is the moment when everything seems possible, before any moves of the Cohen era backfire because of underperformance, injury or bad luck.

Like Cohen, whose past was ultimately not held against him, Cora was allowed to return after serving a penalty for his role in the Houston Astros' sign-stealing scandal of 2017, when he was their bench coach. The Red Sox fired him last winter — sparing him a season with their wretched roster, yes, but also costing him his paycheck. A. J. Hinch, the Astros' manager in 2017, was suspended for a year and subsequently fired. He was hired last week as manager of the Detroit Tigers.

Managers with championship rings are hard to find, and it is no surprise that Cora and Hinch are back. Two others who lost their jobs after the Astros' scandal are still out of baseball — their former general manager, Jeff Luhnow, who was suspended for a year and fired, and their former designated hitter, Carlos Beltran, who was fired as Mets manager. Both have plenty to offer, wherever their next opportunities arise.

The point is not to excuse bad behavior, but to let talented people have another chance after serving their time. Fans and historians have long memories, and high-profile transgressions never disappear from the record. But not every story has to finish that way.

In Turner's case, what would baseball have proved by punishing him for poor judgment? Turner has been roundly vilified for thoughtless exuberance, and he acknowledged in a statement that he had "unwisely" removed his mask while taking a team photo with the trophy. But M.L.B. would have been disingenuous to hold him solely responsible for heading back to the field.

"Major League Baseball could have handled the situation more effectively," Commissioner Rob Manfred said in a statement on Friday. "For example, in retrospect, a security person should have been assigned to monitor Mr. Turner when he was asked to isolate, and Mr. Turner should have been transported from the stadium to the hotel more promptly."

Manfred also explained that, in Turner's recollection, at least one Dodgers official had given him permission to go on the field.

The risk of showing mercy to Turner — and letting Cohen, Cora and Hinch hold leadership roles in the industry — seems minimal. The value of dialing back outrage, especially now, is considerable.

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

Positive Virus Test Makes Cal's Shortened Season Shorter

By JOHN BRANCH

Gloria Kaci, the director of stadium event operations at Cal, led a Zoom meeting on Monday to organize logistics for the football team's season opener on Saturday night. She directed about 60 employees from across the athletic department.

A major college football game during regular times is a complex puzzle, with a stadium full of fans, but places like Cal have held them for decades. The game-day process has embedded itself into institutional muscle memory.

Hosting a football game during a pandemic means rethinking almost everything.

"Hold on to your hats, because it's going to be a very bumpy ride," Kaci told the group.

The ride came to an abrupt end on Thursday. At noon, Kaci sent an email to the athletic department.

"It is with disappointment that we must announce that Saturday's game vs. Washington has been canceled," she wrote.

An unnamed Cal player had tested positive for the coronavirus earlier in the week. With the required isolation of those in contact with him, including his entire position group, Cal could not stage the game.

The game was declared a "no contest" by the Pac-12 Conference on Thursday. There are no immediate plans to reschedule it.

Coch Justin Wilcox declined to say how many players were required to isolate in accordance with local health guidelines, but it extended beyond one position and included non-players. All have continued to test negative, Wilcox said. The university, set in Berkeley, is negotiating with health officials there to determine when each isolated member of the football program may return to team gatherings, since extended isolations could jeopardize the Nov. 14 game at Arizona State, too.

"We are confident that we have made the right decision," Jim Knowlton, Cal's athletic director, said. "As we have seen across the country, we knew that there would be Covid-19 challenges, and we will continue to follow our protocols to support the health of our student-athletes."



PHOTOGRAPHS BY JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jim Knowlton, above right, the Cal athletic director, took over temperature-checking duties before a football practice on Oct. 12. Coming off an 8-5 season, Cal has hopes for a league title.



With its first games on Saturday, the Pac-12 will become the last major college conference to start its football season and to try to squeeze in a condensed schedule before the end of the year. It feels a bit as though the league is arriving late and sober to a party full of tiring drunk people.

Other conferences — including the Southeastern and the Atlantic Coast — have been playing games since September. But dozens of

games have been postponed or canceled because of coronavirus outbreaks, and no one seems to be getting a better handle on limiting the spread of the virus.

Top coaches and players have had to sit out of games. Coach Nick Saban of Alabama nearly missed a game after a positive test, and Clemson quarterback Trevor Lawrence will miss this Saturday's game against Notre Dame. At least six games this

weekend have been canceled, including Wisconsin versus Purdue (a week after Wisconsin canceled its game with Nebraska) and Air Force versus Army.

Conferences everywhere are trying to make order from battered schedules and scrambled standings, while insisting that playing college football this fall is a wise and necessary endeavor that has nothing to do with making money. The gambit may face a grave reckoning as the numbers of coronavirus cases and deaths in the United States climb steadily.

The Times has highlighted some of these challenges through the experience of one big-time athletic department — Cal, the flagship campus of the University of California system, with 30 sports and a \$100 million annual budget. Like hundreds of other colleges, Cal faces the challenge of maintaining a bustling sports academy within the structure of an academic institution.

Cal, like the rest of the Pac-12, initially said it would wait until 2021 to play games and postponed all its fall sports. In October,

nudged by the availability of daily testing and the growing sense of peer pressure to join the party, the Pac-12 decided to start football after all.

The league created a conference-only seven-game season, beginning the first weekend of November. There would be no time for bye weeks, because the Pac-12 wanted its champion to be eligible for a four-team national playoff starting on Jan. 1.

Cal, coming off an 8-5 season, has hopes for a league title behind the experienced quarterback Chase Garbers. Practice began last month. Cal tested athletes before each workout, required masks at all times and preached the importance of avoiding the virus.

But on Wednesday, Wilcox revealed that a player had tested positive, though he had experienced no symptoms.

By Thursday, the game was off. Wilcox expressed frustration that one positive test could cancel one or more games, when he has seen teams in other parts of the country continue playing.

"I absolutely agree that there are different interpretations of contact tracing," he said in a call with reporters on Thursday afternoon.

During the staff meeting on Monday, when the game was still scheduled, Kaci pressed for answers on all the unusual conditions: There would be no fans, no cheerleaders, no family members.

How would they keep would-be tailgaters and curious fans away? What if high-powered boosters or families of players beg to come or just show up? How many people could be in the press box? How and where would they conduct the mandatory pregame coronavirus testing for the teams?

Ryan Cobb, a senior associate athletic director, oversaw the testing protocols.

"I don't think I've ever sat on a game day Monday with so many questions," he told the group.

Days later, it was all a moot point. Kaci's email summed it up.

"Our next home game will be on November 27th vs. Stanford — The Big Game," she concluded.

Plans will be made.

SCOREBOARD

FOOTBALL

N.F.L. STANDINGS

AMERICAN CONFERENCE

East

W

L

T

Pct

PF

PA

Buffalo

6

2

0

.750

198

199

Miami

4

3

0

.571

188

130

N. England

2

5

0

.286

136

167

Jets

0

8

0

.000

94

238

South

W

L

T

Pct

PF

PA

Indianapolis

5

2

0

.714

198

136

Tennessee

5

2

0

.714

208

184

Houston

1

6

0

.143

166

217

Jacksonville

1

6

1

.167

143

214

North

W

L

T

Pct

PF

PA

Pittsburgh

7

0

0

1.000

211

142

Baltimore

5

2

0

.714

203

132

Cleveland

5

3

0

.625

206

237

Cincinnati

2

5

1

.313

194

214

West

W

L

T

Pct

PF

PA

Kansas City

7

1

0

.875

253

152

Las Vegas

4

3

0

.571

187

203

Denver

3

4

0

.429

147

183

L.A. Chargers

2

5

0

.286

179

185

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

East

W

L

T

Pct

PF

PA

Phila.

3

4

1

.438

186

205

Washington

2

5

0

.286

133

165

Dallas

2

6

0

.250

185

266

Giants

1

7

0

.125

145

199

South

W

L

T

Pct

PF

PA

Tampa Bay

6

2

0

.750

253

204

New Orleans

5

2

0

.714

206

197

Carolina

3

5

0

.375

179

193

Atlanta

2

6

0

.250

209

224

North

W

L

T

Pct

PF

PA

Green Bay

6

2

0

.750

253

204

Chicago

5

3

0

.625

161

166

Detroit

3

4

0

.429

177

206

Minnesota

2

5

0

.286

183

214

West

W

L

T

Pct

PF

PA

Seattle

6

1

0

.857

240

199

Arizona

5

2

0

.714

242

146

L.A. Rams

5

3

0

.625

193

152

San Fran.

4

5

0

.444

225

207

Thursday

Green Bay 34, San Francisco 17

Sunday

Baltimore at Indianapolis, 1

Carolina at Kansas City, 1

Chicago at Tennessee, 1

Denver at Atlanta, 1

Detroit at Minnesota, 1

Houston at Jacksonville, 1

Giants at Washington, 1

Seattle at Buffalo, 1

Las Vegas at L.A. Chargers, 4:05

Miami at Arizona, 4:25

Pittsburgh at Dallas, 4:25

New Orleans at Tampa Bay, 8:20

Open: Cincinnati, Cleveland, L.A. Rams, Philadelphia

Monday

New England at Jets, 8:15

SOCCER

M.L.S. STANDINGS

EAST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
xPhiladelphia	13	4	5	44	42	20
xToronto FC	13	4	4	44	32	24
xOrlando City	11	3	8	41	38	22
xColumbus	11	6	5	38	34	20
xN.Y.C.F.C.	11	8	3	36	33	22
xNew England	8	8	8	32	36	23
xRed Bulls	8	9	5	29	27	30
xNashville	7	7	8	29	21	20
Montreal	13	8	3	23	30	41
Chicago	5	9	8	23	30	35
Atlanta	6	12	4	22	22	28
Inter Miami CF	6	13	3	21	23	34
D.C. United	11	4	22	27	43	34
Cincinnati	4	14	4	16	11	34

WEST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
xPortland	11	6	5	38	45	34
xKansas City	11	6	3	36	40	22
xSeattle	11	6	3	36	36	25
xFC Dallas	9	5	7	34	28	21
xLos Angeles FC	8	4	31	46	38	21
xMinnesota	8	5	7	31	33	26
xSan Jose	8	6	8	30	34	27
xColorado	7	6	4	25	30	27
Vancouver	8	14	0	24	24	44
LA Galaxy	6	11	4	22	27	43
Real Salt Lake	9	9	7	34	47	32
Houston	4	9	9	21	29	38

x-clinched playoff berth

Sunday, Nov. 8
N.Y.C.F.C. at Chicago, 3:30 p.m.
Toronto FC at Red Bulls, 3:30 p.m.
Atlanta at Columbus, 3:30 p.m.
Montreal at D.C. United, 3:30 p.m.
Cincinnati at Miami, 3:30 p.m.
Nashville at Orlando City, 3:30 p.m.
New England at Philadelphia, 3:30 p.m.
Colorado at Houston, 6:30 p.m.
Portland at Los Angeles FC, 6:30 p.m.
FC Dallas at Minnesota, 6:30 p.m.
Kansas City at Real Salt Lake, 6:30 p.m.
San Jose at Seattle, 6:30 p.m.
LA Galaxy at Vancouver, 6:30 p.m.

ENGLISH PREMIER LEAGUE											
Team	GP	W	D	L	GF	GA	Pts				
Liverpool	7	5	1	1	17	15	16				
Leicester	7	5	0	2	17	9	15				
Tottenham	7	4	2	1	18	9	14				
Everton	7	4	1	2	15	11	13				
Southampton	7	4	1	2	14	12	13				
Wolverhampton	7	4	1	2	8	13	13				
Chelsea	7	3	1	3	16	9	10				
Aston Villa	6	4	0	2	15	9	12				
Arsenal	7	4	0	3	9	7	12				
Man City	6	3	2	1	9	8	11				
Newcastle	7	2	2	3	10	11	8				
Leeds	7	3	1	3	13	13	10				
Crystal Palace	7	3	1	3	8	11	10				
West Ham	7	2	2	3	13	10	8				
Man United	6	2	1	3	9	40	7				
Brighton	8	1	3	4	11	14	6				
Fulham	7	1	5	7	14	4	4				
West Brom	7	0	3	4	6	16	3				
Burnley	7	0	2	5	3	12	2				
Sheffield United	7	0	1	6	3	10	1				
FRIDAY, NOV. 6											
Brighton 0, Burnley 0 Southampton vs. Newcastle											
SATURDAY, NOV. 7											
Everton vs. Man United Crystal Palace vs. Leeds Chelsea vs. Sheffield United West Ham vs. Fulham											
SUNDAY, NOV. 8											
West Brom vs. Tottenham Leicester vs. Wolverhampton Man City vs. Liverpool Arsenal vs. Aston Villa											

TENNIS									
PARIS MASTERS									
Friday Palais Omnisports de Paris-Bercy, Paris Men's Singles, Quarterfinals Daniil Medvedev (3), Russia, d. Diego Schwartzman (6), Argentina, 6-3, 6-1, 6-0 Rafael Nadal (10), Canada, d. Ugo Humbert, France, 6-3, 3-6, 7-6 (7) Rafael Nadal (10), Spain, d. Pablo Carreno Busta (9), Spain, 4-6, 7-5, 6-1 Alexander Zverev (4), Germany, vs. Stan Wawrinka (12), Switzerland, 6-3, 7-6 (1) Men's Doubles, Quarterfinals Hubert Hurkacz, Poland, and Felix Auger-Aliassime, Canada, d. Michael Venus, New Zealand, and John Peers (7), Australia, 7-5, 11-9 Lukasz Kubot, Poland, and Marcelo Melo (4), Brazil, d. Nicolas Mahut and Pierre-Hugues Herbert (5), France, 6-7 (4), 6-3, 10-8 Jurgen Heitzler, Austria, and Oliver Marach, Austria, d. Nikola Pietrangeli (2), Croatia, d. Nikola Pietrangeli, Croatia, and Wesley Koolhof (6), Netherlands, 6-1, 7-6 (4).									

GOLF		
THURSDAY		
HOUSTON OPEN		
At Memorial Park Golf Course Houston, Texas Purse: \$7 million; Yardage: 7,432; Par: 72		
First Round Leaders		
Brandt Snedeker	32-35	-6
Gregson Davis	31-36	-7
Michael Thompson	32-35	-7
Scottie Scheffler	32-35	-7
Harold Varner III	31-36	-7
Purkeys Ogburn	32-35	-7
Jason Day	30-37	-7
Adam Long	33-38	-8
Justin Streimann	33-38	-8
Denny Burns	33-38	-8
Takir Gooden	34-34	-8
Sepp Straka	34-34	-8
Scott Piercy	34-34	-8
Adem Scott	31-37	-8
Greg Chalmers	35-33	-8
Matt Jones	35-34	-9
Russell Henley	35-34	-9
Denny McCarthy	34-35	-9
Shane Lowery	35-34	-9
Tony Fina	35-34	-9
Adam Coates	34-35	-9
Patton Kizzire	33-36	-9
Pat Perez	34-35	-9
Mark Hubbard	34-35	-9
Gabe McDowell	34-35	-9
Russell Knox	34-35	-9
Scott Brown	34-35	-9

2 DANCE
In Britain, from Plan A to Plan Zoom. BY ROSLYN SULCAS

2 CULTURE
Jersey City says yes to arts financing. BY JULIA JACOBS



3 TELEVISION
'Barbarians' reclaims an ancient battle for all Germans.
BY THOMAS ROGERS

NEWS | CRITICISM

Arts

The New York Times

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 2020 C1
Y

WESLEY MORRIS | THE BOX



1971: The Rise of Supercops and 'Shaft'



20TH CENTURY FOX, VIA GETTY IMAGES (TOP); MGM, VIA GETTY IMAGES (ABOVE)

White movie lawmen tossed out the book, and Black filmmakers offered an alternative vision.

Top, Gene Hackman in "The French Connection." Above, Richard Roundtree in "Shaft."

ANYBODY SIFTING THROUGH the 1970s for American movies' most definitive year might start with 1972: "The Godfather," "The Poseidon Adventure," "Deliverance," "Pink Flamingos," "Deep Throat." Or 1975: "Jaws," "Nashville," "Dolemite," "Dog Day Afternoon," "Shampoo," "Barry Lyndon." Or 1977: "Star Wars," "Saturday Night Fever," "Close Encounters of the Third Kind," "Smokey and the Bandit," "Annie Hall." My vote goes to 1971. Not because the

movies were better — the top draw was, depending on the source, either a studio musical about a Jewish shtetl wedding ("Fiddler on the Roof") or a grubby, independently made beat-'em-up set around a school on an Arizona Indian reservation ("Billy Jack"). This was the year that Gene Hackman strolls into a Brooklyn bar and goes to town on its Black clientele during an interlude in "The French Connection." It's the year President Richard M. Nixon's campaign threats of law-and-order governing had, at

last, come flagrantly true at the movies, the year the American supercop was born. Everybody knows him: so exasperated by the bureaucracy of police work that breaking the law becomes his way of upholding it. He's just north of middle age, drunk, white, monomaniacal, trigger-happy; never caped yet stylish in his turtle-necks, sweater vests, pork pie hats and visible holster; and, in his way, handsome, roughly. While everybody else is going by CONTINUED ON PAGE C6



STEPHANE DE SAKUTIN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The Doors Swing Shut, Again

A resurgence of the coronavirus in Europe has led to another round of lockdowns and the closing of cultural landmarks like the Louvre in Paris, above. Page 5.

The Woman Who Built Pianos for Beethoven

Nannette Streicher was one of the finest keyboard manufacturers in Europe.

By PATRICIA MORRISROE

The Morgan Library & Museum owns part of an original sketch of Beethoven's "Hammerklavier" Piano Sonata. In the margin, the British publisher Vincent Novello writes that the document was given to him by "Mrs. Streiker" — "one of Beethoven's oldest and most sincere friends." Nannette Streicher's marginalized place in history is encapsulated in these scribbled lines. While she was indeed one of the closest friends of Beethoven, whose 250th birthday will be celebrated this December, she was also one of the finest piano builders in Europe. She owned her own company — employing her husband, Andreas Streicher, a pianist and teacher, to handle sales, book-keeping and business correspondence. But many Beethoven scholars, perhaps finding it inconceivable that an 18th-century woman could build a piano, have turned Andreas into the manufacturer and Nannette into his shadowy helpmate.

CONTINUED ON PAGE C4



BILDAGENTUR-ONLINE/ UNIVERSAL IMAGES GROUP, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Nannette Streicher not only built pianos for Beethoven; in 1817, she agreed to manage his chaotic household.

Some ‘Nutcracker,’ Some Led Zeppelin

Carlos Acosta discusses his vision for Birmingham Royal Ballet as artistic director.

By ROSLYN SULCAS

BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND — Carlos Acosta had big plans. In early February, he announced the first season he had programmed as artistic director of Birmingham Royal Ballet. The Cuban-born ballet star, a longtime principal dancer with the Royal Ballet in London and the first Black person in Britain to run a major ballet company, had only started the job in January, but was full of ideas to bring in new choreographers, partner with Birmingham institutions and make the company more accessible to its public. The autumn season, following an ambitious summer festival, was set to include ballets by Jiri Kylian, Uwe Scholz and Daniela Cardim, with over 20,000 tickets costing 20 pounds (around \$26) or less.

But then, when the coronavirus struck, “We went from Plan A to Plan B to Plan I Just Don’t Know,” said Mr. Acosta, 47, in a backstage interview at the Birmingham Repertory Theater late last month, where his company was performing a short run of a new triple bill. (Yes, live! With an audience! And musicians!)

“I found it very hard,” he said. “I had to get to know the company and the staff via Zoom, and was saturated by documents and planning issues. I am someone who lives in my body, and needs that physicality — and I knew the dancers did, too.”

But Mr. Acosta — the youngest of 11 children who grew up in a poverty-stricken neighborhood in Havana — is no stranger to adversity. He and his staff worked out a “bubble” system, in which the dancers rehearse and perform in discrete groups, and are subject to rigorous mask-wearing, symptom-checking rules, but no social distancing.

In mid-August, Mr. Acosta announced the triple bill, which included a commission, “Lazuli Sky,” by Will Tuckett, set to John Adams’s “Shaker Loops,” as well as Vicente Nebrada’s “Our Waltzes,” for 10 dancers, and Valery Panov’s solo, “Liebestod.”

On Oct. 29, the program was the first live show to open at Sadler’s Wells, in London, since the lockdown and it will be available to view online through Saturday. And last month, Mr. Acosta announced that Birmingham Royal Ballet would perform “The Nutcracker” both at the Birmingham Repertory Theater and at the Royal Albert Hall in London over the holiday season.

In a wide-ranging conversation, Mr. Acosta talked about adapting his artistic plans, getting dancers back onstage, and what he thinks of the debates around diversity raging in the ballet world. Here are edited excerpts.

This program is fairly conventionally classical. Does that reflect your vision for the company?

This program was really an emergency program; we had to think about the economics and logistics. You have the bubbles, you want all the dancers to have something to work on, and you want substantial pieces.

But I am proud of this program; it is classical, it’s joyful, the works are new to Birmingham and the company, and we got a world premiere, which I don’t think anyone else has done, using augmented reality and amazing design and music. It’s classical, but with a contemporary aspect that looks to the future.

How do you see the company moving forward in pandemic conditions?

The most difficult thing for everyone in our sector right now is not knowing how to plan: Will there still be social distancing by next summer? Will people come? Could we be shut down?

At the moment we are losing money with every performance, but I still think we have



JOHAN PERSSON



ALEXANDER TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

to perform. What’s encouraging is that everything has sold out immediately and we have put on extra performances in both Birmingham and London. If we hit our target with “Nutcracker” at the Royal Albert Hall, we will just cover our costs, but we felt we must do it as a signal for the dance world.

Essentially, we have kept our plans, but pushed everything out. We are going to do some big ballets: “Cinderella,” “Sleeping Beauty,” “Don Quixote.” If we are still doing bubbles and social distancing, we might have to downscale the productions. Let’s see.

What kind of balance do you want between the traditional full-length story ballets and a more contemporary repertory?

The classics aren’t going anywhere; our core audience loves them and that’s part of what we do. But I want to challenge the perception that ballet is for white people, this is for old people. Ballet can also speak about the time we are living today, use the technology we have today.

I also think a company needs its own identity. We are in Birmingham, with its own demographic, and we have to keep that in mind when commissioning. I want to

“Lazuli Sky,” a Birmingham Royal Ballet commission choreographed by Will Tuckett. Left, Carlos Acosta, a ballet star born in Cuba who is the first Black person in Britain to run a major ballet company. Below, Tzu-Chao Chou and Miki Mizutani in “Our Waltzes,” choreographed by Vicente Nebrada.

highlight how important the city has been to the U.K. Heavy-metal music was born here, Led Zeppelin came from here — we’ll do those ballets! But this art form was born centuries ago, and we have a responsibility to cultivate that side, too.

Diversity has been a problematic issue for ballet companies for a long time, and the Black Lives Matter movement pushed that into the spotlight. Is this a preoccupation for you?

When I arrived at the Royal Ballet, in 1998, as the company’s first Black principal, there were only two Black dancers. I think we’ve moved on hugely. A high percentage of our company is nonwhite, and I am the director. There are still relatively few Black dancers, and it could be perceived as racism, that directors are making these choices. But I don’t think it’s like that. Which of us wouldn’t give everything to discover the next Black Aurora or Swan Queen?

The truth is there aren’t too many highly trained Black ballet dancers knocking at the door. The problem lies in education: kids who never get exposed to culture. I know this well; I didn’t read a book until I was 25. We need role models for kids, who will see a Black dancer on a poster, and to say to themselves, “I can be a prince too.”

Are you happy with the measures the government has taken to help the cultural sector in Britain? Could more be done?

We are very grateful for the furlough program, which allowed us to keep everyone employed and to do this program. I think they have genuinely tried their best, but at government level people don’t really know how the cultural sector works, so it gets the same general rules as everyone else.

I do wonder if there wasn’t a way to involve cultural figures and give them more power in deciding how to keep people safe. It’s in our interests to do this really well, so no one is going to do anything irresponsible. Perhaps we could have opened earlier with more aggressive testing and bubble procedures, and had more data on transmission, with social distancing policies, in theaters? We are all hard-working and creative in this sector: If we had started earlier, by now we would have mastered it.



JOHAN PERSSON

Jersey City Voters Say Yes to Funding the Arts

A new tax wins 64 percent of the vote even as the city, like others, struggles with the pandemic.

By JULIA JACOBS

Officials in Jersey City could not be blamed for worrying a bit this past Tuesday about the referendum they placed on the ballot to create a new tax to help the arts. After all, New Jersey is still suffering from the financial impact of the pandemic, and there were so many other pressing concerns for voters, like a presidential election riven by extreme partisanship and the question of whether to legalize marijuana in the state.

But, as it turned out, with a substantial majority of ballots counted, 64 percent of the voters there supported such a tax in a nonbinding referendum that is now expected to gain final approval from the City Council.

“It shows that the arts are important to people even in the toughest of times,” said Robinson Holloway, a former chair of the Jersey City Arts Council who helped develop the idea for the new tax.

For Jersey City, the vote is expected to produce a reliable, dedicated revenue stream that will not be affected by the vagaries of municipal budget negotiations, where arts funding is often an easy target.

For the wider arts community, there was a sense that Jersey City had employed a concept that might make sense outside its borders.

Jersey City, which tends to attract audiences from New York City because its theaters and galleries sit just across the Hudson River, is the first municipality in the state to establish a tax to benefit the arts. The plan is similar to taxes created to fund the arts that are used in several municipalities across the country. In three Michigan counties, residents pay a property tax that helps fund the Detroit Institute of Arts,

which gives its residents free admission. In St. Louis, property tax revenue generated about \$85 million in 2018 for institutions like the Saint Louis Zoo, the Saint Louis Art Museum and the Missouri History Museum.

Mayor Steven Fulop of Jersey City had been working for two years to get this referendum on the general election ballot. But the pandemic’s impact on the economy made a new tax that could go toward the city’s art galleries, theaters and dance companies a much bigger ask, and in April, the mayor suggested that the question be removed from the ballot.

“The world is changed today,” Mr. Fulop wrote at the time, “and we want to minimize the impact on our taxpayers as much as possible.”

Several municipalities across the country have taxes to support culture.

Some of the arts administrators in Jersey City didn’t agree. They recognized that many city residents were hurting financially, but so were their organizations; live performances and art exhibitions were canceled en masse, and many artists were out of work.

To make their case to the mayor, the arts leaders commissioned a poll of 400 Jersey City voters to try to get a sense of whether they would vote for a new tax that would most likely charge residents a half of a penny per \$100 of assessed property value (renters would not have to pay). The poll results leaned in favor of the tax, giving the mayor renewed confidence in the ballot

measure.

The new tax is not a cure-all for local art organizations’ financial needs. At the half-a-penny rate, it is currently expected to generate between \$1 million and \$2 million a year, which will be distributed to select organizations or individuals whose applications will be vetted by a committee. But to arts leaders in Jersey City, the vote in favor of the tax is a victory for their central argument: that local arts and culture are economic drivers and assets that residents value enough to pay for.

Ms. Holloway, who is also executive director of Art Fair 14C, a nonprofit art fair in New Jersey, said that waiting to put the referendum up for a vote — as the mayor had suggested — seemed like a painful decision at a time when some groups need the extra money more than ever before.

“If we waited til 2021, we were worried a lot of groups wouldn’t exist, artists would have left the city and arts organizations would have gone under,” Ms. Holloway said.

Samuel Pott, the artistic director of Nimbus, a dance company, arts center and school that was created in Jersey City in 2005, said that arts leaders in the city have been advocating for a new government revenue stream for about a decade, and this is the idea that finally stuck.

It was conceived of in 2018 when arts leaders were trying to persuade the mayor and City Council to include a line item for the arts in the annual budget. Mr. Fulop rejected that idea, explaining that it would be difficult to establish a stable revenue stream that would not be diminished in future budgets. But he would support a fund that would be shouldered by taxpayers.

“When you get into tough times, the first thing that is cut is the arts,” Mr. Fulop said.

“We wanted to create something that is secure no matter the financial state of the city.”

But cities in New Jersey cannot establish such a tax without approval from the state legislature, so Mr. Fulop solicited the help of state representatives to draft a bill in Trenton that would expressly allow municipalities to do so. The bill eventually passed, and Gov. Philip D. Murphy, a Democrat, signed it in January.

The referendum allows the City Council to levy up to two cents per \$100 of assessed property value, but in conversations with the council members, Ms. Holloway said that it seemed there was only an appetite for a half-a-penny tax. The developers of the new tax wanted to keep it small so that it would not seem like a major burden to voters. They had watched closely when a sales tax referendum in Charlotte, N.C., which would have generated more than \$22 million for arts and culture, failed last year.

There wasn’t an organized push against the referendum in Jersey City as there had been in Charlotte. But it still had its opponents. The Jersey City Republican Party urged residents not to vote for it, writing on Facebook that the measure was an “excuse to raise your property taxes” and that any city funding should come from the budget.

At a half-a-penny rate, a resident with a house assessed at \$500,000 would be paying about \$25 a year. Someone with a house assessed at \$1 million would pay \$50.

“You would easily spend that money on a Netflix subscription,” said Heather Wahl, the artistic director of Speranza Theater Company, who advocated for the tax. “For the arts organizations to know there’s a sense of funding coming in really takes a load off right now.”

Reclaiming an Ancient German Battle

‘Barbarians’ depicts the Battle of Teutoburg Forest, which has been beloved by the far right.

By THOMAS ROGERS

BERLIN — For those unfamiliar with German history, the new Netflix show “Barbarians” may not seem especially provocative. The historical epic, reminiscent of the long-running History channel series “Vikings,” centers on a tribe of villagers in the first century A.D. trying to survive in a forested region of what is now Northern Germany. Its rugged protagonists clash violently with rival tribes and, most of all, with the Roman forces who control the area.

But the show’s six episodes build toward the first fictionalized depiction on German TV of an event that remains fraught even after two millennia: the Battle of Teutoburg Forest, which put an end to the Roman Empire’s aspirations of controlling much of what is now Germany.

German nationalists, including the Nazis, have used the battle as an ideological rallying point, a supposed foundational moment for German civilization and proof of their superior pedigree and fighting skills. To this day, the battle, and the tribes’ leader in the fight, Arminius, remain sources of inspiration for far-right extremists, who regularly make pilgrimages to related sites.

The Netflix show arrives at a moment of increased German interest in the period, coinciding with a high-profile new exhibition of archaeological finds, “The Germanic Tribes,” at the James Simon Gallery on Museum Island here. Both the “Barbarians” creators and the exhibition curators faced the dilemma of how to depict the period for a broad audience without giving oxygen to extremists.

Arne Nolting, a writer and showrunner of the series, explained via Zoom last month that part of his inspiration for making a show about the Battle of Teutoburg Forest was a desire to reclaim a pivotal moment in European history from the far right. “We didn’t want to be scared away and leave the subject to those forces we detest,” he said.

The battle has been a political flash point since the 19th century, when modern-day Germany was a fractured mosaic of smaller states. Nationalists embraced Arminius as a symbol of German identity in their push for unification. In 1875, four years after the German Empire’s founding, officials unveiled a colossal statue of Arminius in the Teutoburg Forest. (The battle is now believed to have taken place 50 miles away at a site called Kalkriese.)

Under the Third Reich, the Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg depicted Arminius as part of a “line of German ancestry” leading to Adolf Hitler, and schoolbooks of the period claimed that he had saved “the purity of German blood.” In 2009, the far-right extremist National Democratic Party of Germany organized a “remembrance march” commemorating the battle, under the slogan “2,000 years of fighting against foreign infiltration.”

Nolting said that he and the other showrunners were conscious of this political baggage while creating the narrative arc of “Barbarians,” which premiered on



PHOTOGRAPHS BY KATALIN VERMES/NETFLIX

Oct. 23. The show focuses on three characters with connections to a real-life tribe called the Cherusci: Thusnelda (Jeanne Goursaud), the daughter of a Cherusci leader; Folkwin (David Schütter), a fictional warrior; and Arminius (Laurence Rupp).

In its telling, Arminius is born a Cherusci but is taken away by the Roman occupiers as a young boy, only to return as a member of the imperial army, a portrayal that reflects historians’ belief that the real-life Arminius served in the Roman military before changing sides. The show’s plot is set in motion when the Romans demand large tributes from the Cherusci, heightening tensions and gradually leading Arminius to doubt his allegiance to the empire.

Jan Martin Scharf, another writer and showrunner, said that the production team had taken a consciously gritty approach to the subject matter to avoid glorifying the violence between the Cherusci and the Romans. They also wanted to emphasize Arminius’ identity as a migrant, he said, adding, “It was important for us not to show him as some big war hero or the founder of a German empire.”

And the creators cast Rupp, an Austrian actor, in the role in part because, with his darker complexion and hair, he did not fit the blond, blue-eyed depictions of Arminius that have been common in the past.

When it came to overseeing the “Germanic Tribes” exhibition, Matthias Wemhoff also found depicting this period of German antiquity to be a fraught endeavor. Wemhoff, the director of the Museum of Prehistory and Early History in Berlin, said in an interview that he and his team had taken a matter-of-fact approach to avoid ap-

pealing to the far right.

The first survey exhibition of archaeological finds from Germanic peoples, it presents over 700 items from the first to the fourth centuries A.D., including weapons, personal items and ceramics, in understated displays. It also features an exhibit about the ways archaeological finds from the period have been politicized in the past.

Wemhoff said that his team had worried “a lot” about how to avoid appealing to the far right, and that they had chosen a restrained subtitle, “Archaeological Perspectives,” for that reason. “We’ve never had an exhibition with such a plain title,” he said.

Wemhoff said many Germans had a false or clichéd view of the period, which hasn’t been widely taught in German schools since World War II. “After the Nazi period, the subject was scorched,” he said. “People

Above, the Battle of Teutoburg Forest, as depicted in “Barbarians.” Below, Laurence Rupp as Arminius, the victorious tribes’ leader.



have made a large detour around it.”

The greatest false assumption, he said, is that the Germanic tribes involved in the battle were the precursors to modern-day Germans. In fact, he noted, most tribes in the area abandoned their settlements and left modern-day German territory starting in the late fourth century.

Today’s Germans, Wemhoff noted, are descended from groups that came from other regions of Europe. “There is no continuity,” he said. “For people who have these strong, pre-existing images in their heads, it’s a challenge to engage with the topic.”

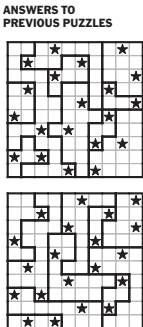
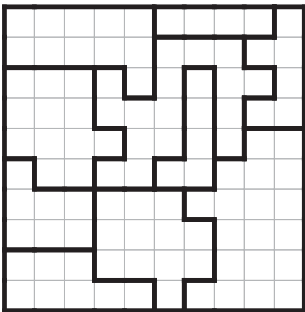
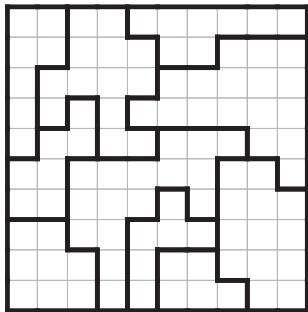
Nolting said he had encountered little far-right online feedback before the Netflix show’s premiere. The series has been positively received in Germany, with most reviewers praising its production values, acting and emphasis on historical accuracy. DWDL, an online portal focused on German media, praised its ability to evade the “traps” of its historical source material.

The creators emphasized that they relied on historical research to depict the period’s costuming and architecture. And for reasons of accuracy, the actors playing Romans speak their lines in ancient Latin. But the creators acknowledge that they took considerable liberties with other aspects of the story.

The climactic battle, which historians believe stretched over three days, is depicted as a much shorter showdown, involving towering walls of flame reminiscent of “Game of Thrones” and with the kinds of emotional confrontations that are unlikely to have happened in real life.

On this issue, however, Nolting was unapologetic. “It’s not a history lesson,” he said. “We’re making entertainment.”

Two Not Touch



Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

Wit Twister

The chef’s _____ with all his _____.

Thus, when he _____ flesh while slicing cheese,

He’s still meticulous: Before he swoons,

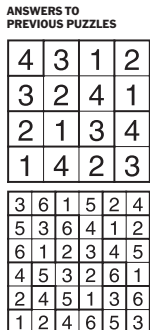
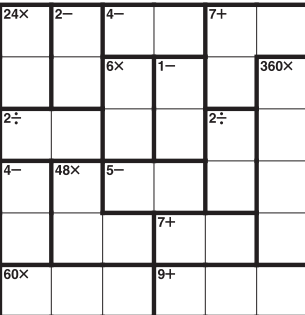
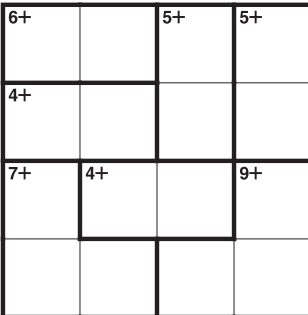
He measures out his blood in tablespoons.

Complete the verse with words that are anagrams of each other. Each underline represents a letter.

PUZZLE BY NANCY COUGHLIN

YESTERDAY’S ANSWER Wells Fargo --> Fargo wells

KenKen



Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

For solving tips and more KenKen puzzles: www.nytimes.com/kenken. For feedback: nytimes@kenken.com

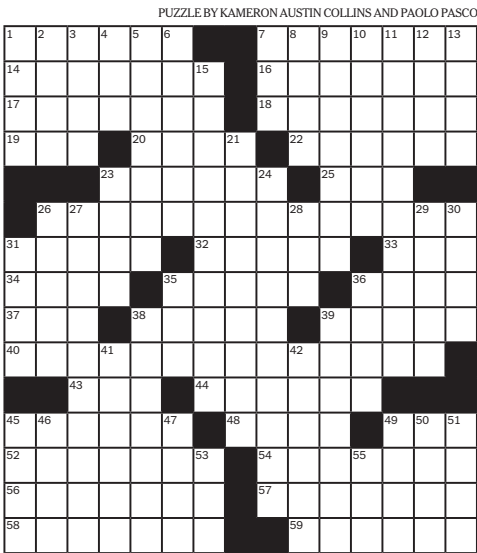
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Crossword

Edited by Will Shortz

- ACROSS**
- 1 Flatten like a bug
7 Was long and boring
14 Many a bug
16 Tart taproom offering
17 Mistaken
18 Down the road
19 Many a saint, originally
20 Chain restaurant ... or what a kangaroo might say?
22 “Actually, I just realized something ...”
23 Secure with a click
25 Faux Fighters or Dread Zeppelin, e.g.
26 It’s administered for shedding
31 Aegean Sea island
32 ___ Green a.k.a. the Witch of Wall Street
33 Cartoon character whose last name is Szyrak
34 Design
35 Impala, e.g.
- 36 Chapati alternative
37 Hebrew name meaning “ascent”
38 Curry powder ingredient
39 Sloughs off
40 Star attraction?
43 Off the ____
44 Cry from behind a door
45 Fragrant tree type
48 Subtle endorsements
49 Big whoop
52 Intentions
54 Marathon runner’s wear
56 “Wish me luck!”
57 Rubber production?
58 Eponym of the N.H.L.’s points leader award
59 Bumptious

- DOWN**
- 1 Guard’s place
2 Word with dinner or dollar
3 Some travelers along the Oregon Trail
4 Sporting blade



- 5 Presents unexpectedly
6 Fuss
7 Connection inits.
8 Showing a bit of gray hair, say
9 Final exam?
10 Started acting responsibly
11 Mix-and-match children’s clothing brand
12 Sci-fi race mirroring the bourgeoisie
13 Sign of progress
15 Punctuate a killer performance
21 Really didn’t hold back
23 Priority of ____ (group in “The Da Vinci Code”)
24 “That’s no longer the case”
26 Pixar character with a pet cockroach
27 Something turned off on vacation
28 What a dot on a map might represent: Abbr.
29 Not inclined
30 Point of view, metaphorically
31 Blueprint bit
35 ___ La Table (high-end cookware retailer)
36 Feast or famine
38 What some handles are created for
39 Look inside, say
41 Cartoonist Will who popularized the term “graphic novel”
42 Materials for some chests
45 ___ Men (“Who Let the Dogs Out” group)
46 Smoking or drinking, e.g.
47 Newsstand display, informally
49 Neighbor
50 Gossip
51 Evil hypnotist’s directive
53 Letters often meant to be read from afar
55 “Cómo es ____?” (Spanish “Why?”)

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A Face That Says ‘Just Between Us’

Kathryn Hahn has a comforting, and uncanny, ability to project private thoughts and the inner lives of the women she inhabits.

By EMILY BRENNAN

So little is predictable these days — an aching close election, a pandemic with an ever more obscure endpoint — that I have developed an intense appreciation for reliably wonderful things, like Mallomars and beech trees and Jesmyn Ward books. Add to this list Kathryn Hahn’s face. You’ve seen this face in everything from silly comedies like “Bad Moms” and “We’re the Millers” to sexy Peak TV like “I Love Dick.” It’s an expressive, open face that slips easily into quirky characters like the randy sister-in-law in “Step Brothers.” But Hahn also excels in dramatic supporting roles, telegraphing the inner turmoil of the women she inhabits. Take this scene from the Season 1 finale of “Transparent” (cue 12:04). Hahn plays Raquel, a gentle rabbi who is in love with Josh (Jay Duplass), the brother of Gaby Hoffmann’s Ali. The two women are covering mirrors at a shiva, per tradition. “I could not be happier,” Raquel beams, her brows upturned and earnest. But Ali is concerned,



FRANÇOIS DUHAMEL/PARAMOUNT VANTAGE

then pitying. “I mean, I’m not saying he’s a sex addict or a love addict,” Ali says of Josh. “I don’t know, maybe he’s a love addict.” Stumbling upon this new twist of words — love addict — is so satisfying to Ali, she doesn’t look up to consider its implications for Raquel. But the camera switches to Hahn to tell us. Her face has a fragility now, her searching eyes cast inward. Hahn gets all of 90 seconds to convey Raquel’s devastation to us, and she has to do this while also trying to conceal it from Ali. She pulls off this task quickly with that face of hers, registering subtle gradations of confusion, shame and hurt that only we, the viewers, seem to see. This ability — to flash her private thoughts to us — places Hahn in company with some of my favorite actors, who displayed their skills most thrillingly in early supporting roles, making efficient use of their little screen time. I’m thinking of John Cazale in “The Godfather,” Philip Seymour Hoffman in “Boogie Nights,” Viola Davis in “Far From Heaven” and Brian Tyree Henry in “Atlanta.” Each of those performances felt like a secret revealed. So as we ride out the uncertainty, here are three roles — two minor, one lead — in which Hahn puts her remarkable face to effective, dependable use.



AMAZON STUDIOS

Above, Kathryn Hahn with Jay Duplass in the Amazon series “Transparent”; far left, with David Harbour in the 2008 film “Revolutionary Road”; and at left, with Paul Giamatti in “Private Life.”

pering this secret to only us.

‘Private Life’

By the time Hahn got the meaty, messy lead role in Tamara Jenkins’s “Private Life” in 2018, she had become so adept at filling in her performances that I felt I’d spent more time with her character than the film’s 123 minutes allowed. It didn’t hurt that she starred opposite Paul Giamatti, an equally incredible actor. The two play a middle-aged, artistic couple — Rachel, a writer; Richard, a former theater director — who are trying to have a baby by any means necessary. The film swiftly, and rather funnily, cycles through the indignities of both adoption and assisted reproduction. Scenes with judgmental social workers are spliced with shots of Richard watching pornography in a fertility clinic. “Private Life” is a comically apt title: Rachel and Richard are doing the most intimate thing — creating a new life — in front of a bunch of strangers. Richard learns his sperm count is zero in a recovery room full of other I.V.F. patients. After a doctor suggests using an egg from a donor instead of from Rachel, she storms out, distraught, only to argue with Richard on a busy New York City street. “I’m not putting someone else’s body parts into my uterus,” she yells as she makes way for a woman pushing a stroller. It’s moving to watch Hahn feel no need to contain her feelings this time, even as Rachel’s rage spirals into a raw, snotty grief — neither for the benefit of passers-by nor for Richard. The vulnerability Hahn shares with us throughout the movie is exactly what Rachel shares with him.



JOJO WHILDEN/NETFLIX, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

‘Girls’

I first noticed Hahn in Season 1 of “Girls,” during a four-episode arc that left me asking, who is *that*? She is introduced as a harried yet vivacious working mother, who hired the young, beautiful Jessa (Jemima Kirke) as a babysitter. Hahn is a successful documentarian — someone Jessa might hope to become if she didn’t see aging as inherently sad. But in a later scene, Hahn’s careful smile shows she understands the insecurity that lies beneath Jessa’s cockiness; she had it once, too. And this one look gives you her character’s whole back story. ‘Revolutionary Road’ Now compare that depiction of an urbane, modern woman with Hahn’s role as a repressed 1950s housewife in “Revolutionary Road” (2008). Hahn has a minor part as Milly, who along with her husband, Shep (David Harbour), is entranced by the

charming Frank and April Wheeler (Leonardo DiCaprio and Kate Winslet). In a movie that tediously spells out subtext with a Sharpie — “We had another child to prove the first one wasn’t a mistake,” April later says to Frank — it is a blessing that Hahn and Harbour, playing ordinary suburbanites, are given few self-conscious lines and are left to, well, act their parts. After the Wheelers announce they’re leaving Connecticut for Paris one evening, Shep and Milly are alone in their bedroom, dressing in elegant, seemingly iron-pressed pajamas. Shep is obviously infatuated with April, so his agitation here is logical. But why does Milly quickly break into tears? Is she in love with Frank or April or the idea of them? “It’s nothing,” Milly says as Shep ineptly consoles her. Hahn plays the scene ambiguously, but one thing is clear: Milly wants to keep her anguish hidden from her husband. Again, it feels as if Hahn is whis-

The Woman Who Built Pianos for Beethoven

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

Born in Augsburg, Germany, in 1769, Nannette was the sixth child of Johann Andreas Stein, a renowned manufacturer who developed an innovative piano action, improving on the mechanism that causes the hammers to strike the strings. It became known as the “Viennese action.” At 8, Nannette played in front of Mozart, who criticized her posture and grimacing, but admitted that she had “genius.” Two years later, she had mastered many of her father’s building techniques, earning a reputation as a mechanical wunderkind. After her father’s death in 1792, Nannette, then 23 and recently married, transported the pianos by raft and set up the business in Vienna. She partnered with her 16-year-old brother, Matthäus, changing the company’s name from J. A. Stein to Geschwister (siblings) Stein. It was a time of rapid developments in piano design. With concerts moving beyond aristocratic salons into larger halls, manufacturers were under pressure to produce heavier, more resonant instruments. Beethoven, who had met Nannette in Augsburg years earlier, asked to borrow one of her pianos for a 1796 concert in Pressburg (now Bratislava). Writing to Andreas, Beethoven joked that it was too “good” for him, because he wanted the “freedom to create his own tone.” In a follow-up letter, he complained that the piano was still the least developed of all the instruments and that it sounded too much like a harp. The elegant Stein piano, with its light touch and silvery tone, wasn’t ideally suited to Beethoven’s wild and forceful performance style. Taking an obvious swipe at the composer, Andreas wrote an essay describing an unnamed pianist as a brutal murderer at the keyboard, “bent on revenge.” “Already the first chords will have been played with such violence that you wonder whether the player is deaf,” he wrote. The comment was sadly prescient. Bee-



THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

thoven had just begun to notice a decline in his hearing, but had told no one. Though he would later need a louder instrument to compensate for his deafness, he was at this point mainly concerned with finding a piano that accommodated his dynamic extremes. Nannette had already expanded her keyboards’ range from five octaves to six and a half, but she was slow to make other major alterations to her father’s original design. It was a stressful time. By 1802, she was the mother of two small children, and a 6-year-old son had recently died. She was also engaged in a dispute with her brother; the siblings eventually decided to dissolve the company and strike out separately. Matthäus took an ad in a local newspaper positioning himself as the rightful heir to the Stein name. Nannette, unwilling to relinquish her own claim, established Strei-

A keyboard made by the company that Nannette Streicher and her brother Matthäus Stein inherited from their father. The siblings eventually decided to dissolve the company and strike out on their own. Nannette went on to establish the firm Streicher née Stein, which was considered by many to be the finest in Vienna.

cher née Stein. She faced stiff competition from local builders, such as Anton Walter, as well as French and English manufacturers. Beethoven had purchased a French Erard in 1803, but he never stopped pressuring the Streichers to keep pace with his increasingly ambitious compositions. By 1809, Nannette had considerably reworked her father’s design, turning out some of the largest, loudest and sturdiest pianos in Vienna. With a warehouse that produced 50 to 65 grand pianos a year, the Streicher firm was considered by many to be the finest in the city. In 1812, the Streichers built a 300-seat concert hall adjacent to their showroom; it was decorated with busts of well-known pianists, including a life mask of Beethoven by the sculptor Franz Klein. Concerts there, which attracted the likes of Archduke Rudolf, Beethoven and Andreas’s piano students, became a hub of Vienna’s musical life. Nannette added another job when, in August 1817, she agreed to manage Beethoven’s chaotic household. The composer was going through one of the many crises that marked his life. His hearing had worsened and he was in a creative slump. Having wrested control of his young nephew from his sister-in-law, he needed to give the appearance that he was providing the boy a good home. Over the next 18 months, Beethoven wrote Nannette over 60 letters, ordering her to take care of his laundry, mend his socks and buy groceries, dusters and shoe polish. Increasingly paranoid, he was convinced that the “beastly” servants were out to rob and poison him, and that they were colluding with his “immoral” sister-in-law. Beethoven’s relationships with women had always been fraught. He fell in love with pretty aristocrats who would never marry a commoner, or else he developed filial attachments to married women. Nannette, with her plain, angular face and hawklike eyes, wasn’t beautiful or highborn. But she was kind and generous; he called her his “good Samaritan.” Beethoven’s relationship with her may have been his most successful with a woman. She wasn’t oblivious to his shortcomings, telling Vincent Novello, the publisher, that he was “avaricious and always mis-

trustful.” But by that point, the pianist and piano builder had known each other for over two decades; they had a connection, and were united in their devotion to the piano. By assuming his household duties, Nannette cleared the way for Beethoven to write his most ambitious piano sonata, the colossal “Hammerklavier.” It was longer and more difficult than any of his other piano works, ending with a wild fugue. It ushered in some of his greatest works: the “Missa Solemnis,” “Diabelli” Variations and Ninth Symphony. Though he was now using an English Broadwood piano, he confided to Nannette in a letter that the post-1809 Streicher had always been his favorite. Nannette outlived Beethoven by five years, dying in 1833, at 70. The Streicher firm continued to thrive under her son, Johann Baptist, and then her grandson, Emil, who built pianos for Brahms. When Emil retired, in 1896, the company closed. That would seem to have been the end of Nannette’s legacy. But her instruments live on, in museums around the world and in the strong, nimble hands of women she inspired. In the mid-1960s, as Margaret Hood, an artist and calligrapher, raised two young children, she started making harpsichords. After doing research in Europe, she began specializing in reproductions of Streicher pianos, producing them in her Platteville, Wis., workshop. She was building an 1816 Streicher six-and-a-half-octave grand when she died, in 2008. Anne Acker, who trained as a concert pianist before studying mathematics and computer science, met Ms. Hood in Wisconsin. They bonded over their love of music, and Ms. Hood became Ms. Acker’s mentor. While caring for her children, Ms. Acker began building and repairing harpsichords and antique pianos, and after her friend’s death, she purchased the reproduction Streicher from Ms. Hood’s husband. “I explained to him that a piano researched and begun by a woman, that is a replica of a piano designed and built by a woman, needs to be finished by a woman,” Ms. Acker said in an interview. The piano — the work of three women over two centuries — had its debut at the Boston Early Music Festival in 2019. It was the year of Nannette’s 250th birthday.

This Time Lockdown Feels Different

Many of Europe’s museums, theaters, concert halls and bookshops have been forced to close again, and now, people’s reactions have changed.

By ALEX MARSHALL

LONDON — Just as cultural life in Europe was learning to adapt to social distancing, small audiences and the need to wear face masks, along have come new lockdowns.

Over the past month, Europe’s museums, theaters, concert halls and bookshops have found themselves forced to close for the second time this year as coronavirus cases have soared across the continent.

Lockdowns are in place in England, France, Germany, Italy and elsewhere. Most are expected — for now — to be only about a month long, and people are also still allowed to go to work in many countries: Actors can rehearse and dancers practice, even as the only audiences possible are on-line.

There is another difference, too: people’s emotions. For some a second lockdown is more hopeless, while others are more optimistic. Then there are those who’re frustrated: On Monday, almost 40 German museum directors issued a statement asking the country’s government not to force them to close.

To understand how people are feeling about the situation, we spoke to six cultural figures, including an Italian opera star, a renowned Parisian bookseller and the head of London’s Victoria and Albert Museum. Here are edited excerpts from those conversations.



ADMILL KUYLER/BALLETT ZÜRICH

Michelle Willems, left, dancing in “Sleeping Beauty” in October. “When will I perform again? That is the big question,” she said. Below left, Tom Dewispelaere, left, in “Waiting for Godot.” Just nine of the play’s planned 43 performances took place before Belgium went into lockdown.



KURT VAN DER ELST



VIA NICE THINGS



STEPHAN REDEL

Above, Sylvia Whitman is fighting to keep the Parisian bookshop Shakespeare and Company afloat. Left, Virginia Högl, who DJs under the name Virginia, described Germany’s new lockdown as “so much harder than the first.”

The Actor Tom Dewispelaere, Antwerp, Belgium

It’s so sad we had to stop.

During the nine times we played Samuel Beckett’s “Waiting for Godot” for the Toneelhuis Theater recently, the audiences were very moved. They were back in the theater for the first time, but I think it was also because they got to see these two figures, Vladimir and Estragon, who are waiting for something to happen.

They could really empathize with them, because humanity has for months now been waiting for hope, for a vaccine, for a solution, for a way out.

We did everything we could to make it safe. We rented a gigantic hall here in Antwerp as big as a football field, and we decided to build our own stage for 200 people, totally Covid-proof. But alas . . .

It is the right decision. The first line of the play is “Nothing to be done.” And with this situation, there’s nothing to be done. We just have to wait to play “Waiting for Godot” again.

The Opera Singer Francesco Meli, Genoa, Italy

The first lockdown was a great shock — many people in Italy were in hospital, many were dying. I was depressed. “What future can we have?” I thought. But this time I’m not depressed. I’m angry. This decision to close theaters is crazy — I don’t understand it.

So many other people feel the same way. That’s why you’re seeing these protests.

Over the summer, everybody who works in theaters — the directors, the musicians, the singers, the technical staff — worked to make them Covid safe with certain protocols. And the moment we find a way, the prime minister says, “No! Goodbye!” It’s terrible. It’s like a demagog.

I could understand a total lockdown. But why only us and a few other places — gyms, swimming pools, universities. Why?

I know that some people in the orchestras and some singers have tested positive in Italy. I tested positive while performing “Aida” at La Scala. But it is normal if you test positive at work, you stay at home and quarantine.

This will do great damage.

The DJ Virginia, Berlin

At the start of October, I did two shows — each one outside, with everyone on the



VIA TEATRO ALLA SCALA

dance floor wearing masks. I was nervous, but after a couple of minutes it felt like always: The fun and excitement, you feel the bass through your body.

There was a thought in my mind: “I should enjoy it as much as I can. As it’s winter, it’s more likely there might be another lockdown.” And that’s exactly how it happened: A week later, my next show was canceled.

I’m still processing this lockdown as financial issues come up — it’s just so much harder than the first. A lot of people — promoters, artists, bar owners — have said they won’t be able to make it through a second phase, and it’s devastating.

I’m lucky as I have savings. I put money to the side just in case — not expecting this situation, obviously. I need to focus on the silver lining that is there. My motto for this moment is “One day at a time,” because otherwise I’ll go nuts.

The Museum Director Tristram Hunt, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

I’m feeling intense frustration. It’s another sense of loss of what could have been. Our exhibition on bags was supposed to open, our Raphael Court was planned to reopen, our Renaissance watercolors display was going to open — these lovely moments during the gloom of November.

The British government has been supportive this financial year, but our real problem is looking into the future, and this builds up more problems.

We’re already having to make the judg-

ment calls on when everything reopens. We’re told the lockdown will only be for a month — until Dec. 2 — but it’s the hope that kills you.

We’re kind of back onto the global merry-go-round of changing exhibition timetables — all us directors sending each other letters saying, “We’re having to extend our show again,” or “We’re closed, but don’t worry we’re looking after your objects.” It’s actually very sweet. I got one from the Louvre yesterday, and the ones from Russia are particularly lovely, covered in lots of stamps — official embossed marks.

The Bookseller Sylvia Whitman, Shakespeare and Company, Paris

We’d gone through all our savings, so last week we sent out an email saying, “If you have the means to buy a Christmas present for someone on our website, it’d make a big difference to us.”

And the response was amazing — the phone’s been ringing, emails coming in — so it feels like a beehive here even though we’re closed.

It’s a real morale boost, because people are saying, “We want you to stay open.” In Paris, they’re talking about maybe letting bookshops reopen in two weeks. There’s been such a huge debate about it. Yesterday, we had François Hollande, the former president, come into the shop as he’d heard we were in trouble and he wanted to film a video calling for bookshops to be reopened. It was actually very moving what he said about how important reading is to society.

He didn’t buy anything, no.

It’s interesting the books people are buying. In the first confinement, people were buying a lot of pandemic books — “The Plague” by Camus — and this time people seem to be looking for escapism — sci-fi, Greek mythology. There’s less panic.

The Ballerina Michelle Willems, Ballett Zurich, Switzerland

I feel luckier than dancers anywhere else I know of now. Back in March, we had to completely stop working. I had to do exercises holding my kitchen table. But now, we can work 50 percent of normal. It means we can go into the studio for half of our normal hours, which is enough time to stay in shape, and for our bodies not to go up and down all the time.

We all have to wear masks, but we can touch, and dance with a partner.

A mask’s a bit difficult for the stamina and breathing, but I’m happy to wear it. I haven’t performed in a mask yet, but I feel the audience would miss a lot.

The government here hasn’t closed the theaters, but they said we can only perform for 50 people. And in a theater that normally has 1,250 people, that’s too big of a loss of money. I think it’s necessary to do this, because the numbers of coronavirus cases are growing immensely again, but there’s a lot of contradictions. People can still go to restaurants, and I don’t know how doing that is safer than going to a theater.

When will I perform again? That is the big question.

Above left, Francesco Meli, performing last month in Milan, said, “This decision to close theaters is crazy.” Above, Tristram Hunt, the Victoria and Albert Museum director, said, “Our real problem is looking into the future.”

WESLEY MORRIS | THE BOX

The Explosive Rise Of Supercops and ‘Shaft’

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

the book, the supercop declares himself illiterate.

He arrives after late-60s smashes like “In the Heat of the Night” and “Bullitt,” thrillers in which the cops were keeping incompetent or venal company in the form of their fellow officers. These were strong, straight-arrow types forced into deviations from standard procedure — Sidney Poitier slapping a racist, murder-suspect moneybags in “In the Heat of the Night”; Steve McQueen taking the heat for hiding a witness from a crooked senator in “Bullitt.” The fight then was against corruption.

By 1971, corruption had become proof of obsessive dedication and hyper-competence — a means to an end. Warner Bros. released “Dirty Harry” starting that December and invented, by way of Clint Eastwood, a one-man countercountercultural strike force whose “Do ya feel lucky, punk?” speeches are the character’s version of Miranda rights. The San Francisco Police Department is too mired in procedure, second-guessing and sheer slowness for Harry Callahan. The calm with which he glides toward a bank robber he just shot, in one of the opening sequences, belongs in one of those David Attenborough nature specials.

The arguably decent cops work for themselves — in “Klute,” in “Shaft,” fighting crime that didn’t (or couldn’t) interest regular law enforcement. The sense of paranoid conspiracy that eventually defined the decade was already in the air by 1971. So was what often got called ultraviolence. That spring, moviegoers got a scandalizing load of “Straw Dogs,” in which a milquetoast math-nerd (Dustin Hoffman) has a near-erotic awakening after slaying the men who tortured him and raped his wife. The graphically assaultive nature of Stanley Kubrick’s “A Clockwork Orange” shocked people — critics especially — in part because it was unclear (to some moviegoers) whether Kubrick intended the violence as comedy. But his film hooked droves of people, too. These movies were hits.

“Billy Jack” feels like an exception. It’s the worst of these crowd pleasers. It clunks and clops. The director, Tom Laughlin, who was white, also plays the movie’s title character, a youngish, leathery former Green Beret who polices an Indian reservation and is supposed to be half-Navajo himself. It’s the second in a series of popular Billy Jack films — and a prototype for whatever Chuck Norris was about to get up to in Texas: full of wood, bare feet and flying dust. Here, Billy’s defending the reservation’s school for wayward pacifists from the capitalist bullies in the nearby town.

The acting is trapped between obnoxious and earnest. Worse, the last shot crests with the kids giving Billy a Black power salute as he turns himself in. Still, there’s something here. There are the dueling impulses of the Vietnam era as epitomized by Billy’s gun-toting hapkido expertise and the students’ disdain for violence. There’s a scene in which the kids debate the town council about its abuse of law and order. The film feels like it’s about being caught between two lifestyles — the hippies’ and Nixon’s. It’s about the need for a kind of action movie valiance that, by 1971, is dead in a way and never entirely returns.

Not long before “Billy Jack,” you can see the movies trying to lure the supercop’s prototype from the brink of heartlessness. In “Bullitt,” McQueen pauses the legendary car chase to make sure a fellow who’s been thrown from his motorcycle is at least still alive. Nobody in the “The French Connection” cares about any of that. Its ruthlessness demolishes property and consciences alike.

The movie is about a car full of drugs that’s been shipped to Lower Manhattan from the French Riviera and, for reasons no one has ever persuasively explained to me, left parked on the street. But, as far as I’m concerned, it’s also about this bar Jimmy “Popeye” Doyle (Hackman) shakes down at about the half-hour mark. It’s a small, dim, busy enough place. And in he barges, with his sidekick “Cloudy” Russo (Roy Scheider). Doyle unplugs the jukebox and identifies himself, not as a detective with the New York City Police Department. But this way: “Popeye’s here!” Like he owns the joint.

At his command, everybody migrates to the wall, producing this sad array of circumstantial resignation (*here we go again*). Admittedly, as Doyle sweeps beneath the bar counter and turns up pill bottles and baggies, a couple of the faces do seem anxious-looking if not outright guilt-stricken; and two gentlemen are sent into phone booths, which appears to be Doyle and Russo’s thing. One small-time suspect is actually an informant — with a mussed, drooping Afro — who offers platonic dope about a big shipment coming in. He doesn’t have much else for Doyle. When they’re through, Doyle wants to know where he would prefer to be socked, lest the other customers suspect something.

That little scrap of dirt means little to the wider plot. It’s corroborative. You could cut that scene and still have the same thrilling movie. But the thrill wouldn’t be quite the same. You’d miss the dueling liberties at work here, the way the supercop can do as he pleases, how the bar patrons must do as he says. You’d miss the exclamatory alacrity of what Hackman achieves in this scene — shouting and prowling and flirting, like a peacock, like a rooster. Like a star. (Doyle won Hackman an Oscar; the movie was voted best picture.)

I have always watched this scene in awe of Hackman’s command of that tiny space. But the last few times I’ve seen it, my eyes are drawn to the lineup, essentially in salute as he struts his exit. Doyle’s departure isn’t dissimilar to the one that ends “Billy Jack.” This one is cockier. Most of the people lining the wall are men. But on the end, farthest from the entrance, is a Black woman in a



WARNER BROS.



CINEMATION INDUSTRIES



20TH CENTURY FOX, VIA GETTY IMAGES

From top: Tom Laughlin stars as the title character in “Billy Jack,” a sleeper hit in 1971; Melvin Van Peebles, right, wrote, directed and starred in “Sweet Sweetback’s Baadasssss Song” (with Hubert Scales); and Gene Hackman was, according to the movie poster, “bad news but a good cop” in “The French Connection.”

patterned purple dress, leaning on a table. Doyle passes her and barks aloud for the whole bar to hear, “Get that hair done before Saturday.” She keeps her head turned away from him, so as to protect herself from the stench of his insult. I imagine her wanting to die, nonetheless, of embarrassment and disgust. What did *she* do? Was this flirtation? Was it ownership? Her hair, by the way, looks fine.

It’s not unreasonable to presume that the director William Friedkin and the editor Gerald B. Greenberg won their Oscars in large part for the movie’s definitive car-versus-train sequence. But what if they also won for the proprietary truth of this?

Imagine getting a steady diet of moments like that or one in which Russo lights up a different bar full of Black men. Imagine a steady diet of mistreatment and criminalization that always seems disconnected from the main drug-cartel or serial-killer plot. Imagine being grist for somebody else’s realism, evidence of the supercop’s superiority — busywork while he’s out there trying to fry bigger fish. Sport. The poster for “The French Connection” is more propagandistically succinct: “Doyle,” it reads, “is bad news but a good cop.” You don’t say.

But 1971 was also the year a Black audi-

The year 1971 produced a complicated man, and a few brutes who were decidedly less so.

ence could get used to a brief alternative, a respite from serving as trash for cops to take out. That spring, Melvin Van Peebles’s “Sweet Sweetback’s Baadasssss Song” began its odyssey toward becoming a sleeper sensation. Where Laughlin seems resistant to disillusionment, Van Peebles throws disillusionment an orgy.

People cite this is as the film that unleashed Black, do-it-your-damn-self moviemaking in this country — a cheap, amateurish, inarguably strange chase picture about a fugitive cop-killer, whom Van Peebles plays as if he’s waiting for an actor with a more radical sense of damnation or professionalism to take over. Everything collides contrapuntally: pool sticks and bodies; women and men; police officers and Black people. It’s a mess. Scraps of the avant-garde (Stan Brakhage, Jack Smith and Kenneth Anger) are smushed together with what certain people think French movies are.

Parts of it seem lifted right out of Jules Dassin’s marvelously strange, inadequately cherished “Uptight,” from 1968. Parts of it are consciously taking a stab at “Easy Rider,” and Sidney Poitier’s ultimately agreeable half of “The Defiant Ones.” Parts of it are close to porn. Every minute of it was meant for Van Peebles’s

people: “This is dedicated to all the Brothers and Sisters who had enough of the man,” reads one of the titles that plays over a still shot of Van Peebles in the middle of some listless running. So it was a mess Black Americans needed somebody to make.

It’s reasonable that an audience sitting through “The French Connection” would have been pre-exhilarated by “Sweetback” and by “Shaft,” which opened in June of that year and felt like another antidote to what Popeye is pushing.

The clamoring for it in Black communities was intense. It reportedly grossed a million dollars at a single Chicago theater and launched a merchandising boom. Allegedly, the part of John Shaft had been intended for McQueen or Charlton Heston. But you watch Richard Roundtree strolling around Harlem in this movie, with ease and a real knowing, and you laugh thinking about how Heston would have worked out.

The plot is decent enough. A drug lord named Bumpy (Moses Gunn) needs Shaft to find his daughter, who’s been kidnapped. That’s it. Almost everything else is righteous politics. Before Shaft hits the streets, he gives Bumpy a lecture about how bad his drugs-and-hookers business is for Black people. As Shaft pounds the pavement, talking to contacts, the director Gordon Parks shoots Roundtree from inside eateries and on the sidewalks. There’s a homey serenity to that montage, a sadness, too. Throughout it we hear Isaac Hayes’s “Soulsville,” a church-band hymn whose first couplet is “Black man, born free/ at least that’s the way it’s supposed to be.”

Parks lets in a rare, life-size solemnity. At one stop on Shaft’s investigation, a man who answers the door calls after him, almost plaintively: “Know what the number was today?” Shaft doesn’t. And it’s that sadness that lingers over this movie and almost all of the so-called blaxploitation films that followed in its wake. Nobody ever hits the lottery. The lottery keeps hitting them. In just about three or four years, the look of the movies had changed, from bright and expansive to hard and gritty — even the musicals looked as if they were in gangs. Things had changed just enough to incorporate this kind of hard, dolorous realism.

In “The French Connection,” the protagonists chase and beat up a pile of Black Harlemites and Brooklynites. And Doyle says to Russo at some point, “Never trust a nigger.” A Black person might hear that and notice that these white people could keep getting away with — and getting awards for — this stuff. A filmmaker could love “The French Connection” and want to mimic it while also making heroes of the guys those cops keep shaking down. It’s just that after five more strong years of Black-oriented movies (lots of which were made by white people) they had evolved into impersonations, of white hits, of themselves.

In fact, the same man wrote “The French Connection” and co-wrote “Shaft”: Ernest Tidyman. “Shaft” the novel, published the previous year, was his, too. The producer Philip D’Antoni reportedly read “Shaft” and hired Tidyman to adapt “The French Connection,” which won him an Oscar. The two scripts share a street-level bluntness and a flair for racial abrasion. The essential differences between the movies come down to the men who made them.

For this brief moment, Parks discovered what still feels like a vaccine for all that ailed a Black moviegoer for most of the movies’ existence. Shaft was more than a supercop. Rather casually, he had to be super at everything, including being in on the joke, including sex.

Parks also uses desire in damnation of the Black buck stereotype. After half an hour, Shaft is suddenly at home wearing nothing but the album cover he’s holding over his crotch when his woman comes home and runs to him. He pulls her to him, kisses her deep and as he’s trying to unzip her dress, Parks is already fading out to their lovemaking, which is really just a lot of bright light superimposed over a shot of her hands caressing his back until they begin to wag in palsied ecstasy. Parks was a mesmerist photojournalist and a prominent figure in the civil rights movement. This movie feels like indiscreet political art. It quenched the thirst for movies in which Black people had sex, with one another, and with white women, as Shaft does a few scenes later.

The movie opens horny. The first shot peers down at Times Square movie marquees, and the first name you notice, before Roundtree’s even shows up, is Burt Lancaster’s on a sign for a theater playing “The Scalphunters” and “Rough Night in Jericho.” The camera tracks down the street, from marquee to marquee: Robert Redford in “Little Fauss and Big Halsy,” under which is a legible B-A-R-B-A, which, presumably, is short for “Barbarella.” The longer the pan goes on, the trashier yet better the titles get: the erotic Italian romp “He and She” shares a spot with “The Animal.” The last one we see is written in red: “School for Sex” plus “The Wild Females.”

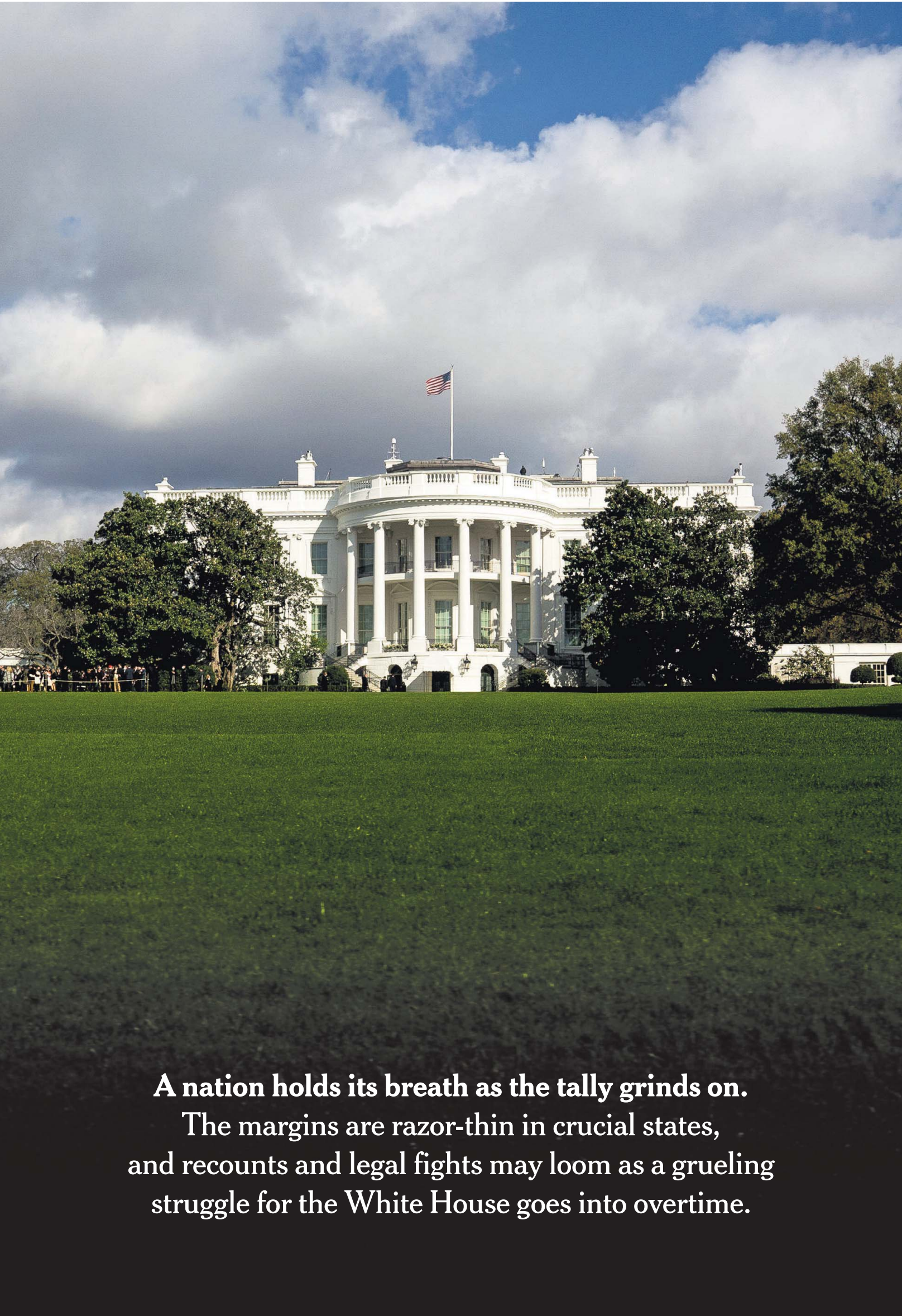
It’s not hard to miss the point: that you’re watching a movie lasciviously called (if you’re so inclined) “Shaft.” In 1971, you also know that none of these other movies has much to do for or with a Black person. Parks deduces a pecking order in the quality, and that order gives him a joke to tell. Right after we take in “School for Sex,” the cymbal taps of Hayes’s theme song kick in, “Shaft” appears in red, and up out of the subway, from underground to the surface, comes the 28-year-old Richard Roundtree, in a leather trench coat, mustache and little Afro, declaring his stardom and correcting 60 or so years of Black sexual neglect. The buck starts here.

As for that woman at the bar that Doyle shakes down? The movies never quite made amends to her. Not even the Black ones. They were for her yet never sufficiently about her.

Election 2020

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The New York Times



ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

INSIDE

How run-of-the-mill clerical errors fueled false tweets that four dead people had voted in Michigan.

PAGE P4

This election is a real nail-biter, unless, of course, you look at the popular vote, which favors Biden by millions.

PAGE P8

If Georgia turns blue, Democrats are crediting Stacey Abrams, who turned a bitter loss into a flood of new voters.

PAGE P9



All eyes were on Pennsylvania on Friday, even at the Good Dog Bar in Philadelphia. Friday morning, a few thousand votes from Philadelphia pushed Joseph R. Biden Jr. into the statewide lead. VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

THE WHITE HOUSE

Biden Takes the Lead in Pennsylvania, Which Opens a Clear Path to Victory

From Page A1

the street as a D.J. with a speaker system blasted music. They unfurled a banner declaring “The People Have Spoken.”

Bernadette Golarz, 36, a nurse from Philadelphia, said she was celebrating because she expected Mr. Trump to be defeated.

“We’re here to make sure every vote counts,” she said. “We want to make sure that our voters are counted and that our democracy is not stolen from us. We’re celebrating everybody’s right to vote and the fact that we all showed up to put him out.”

Pennsylvania Democrats, however, were growing frustrated by the slow count and were eager for Philadelphia and Pittsburgh to post more returns.

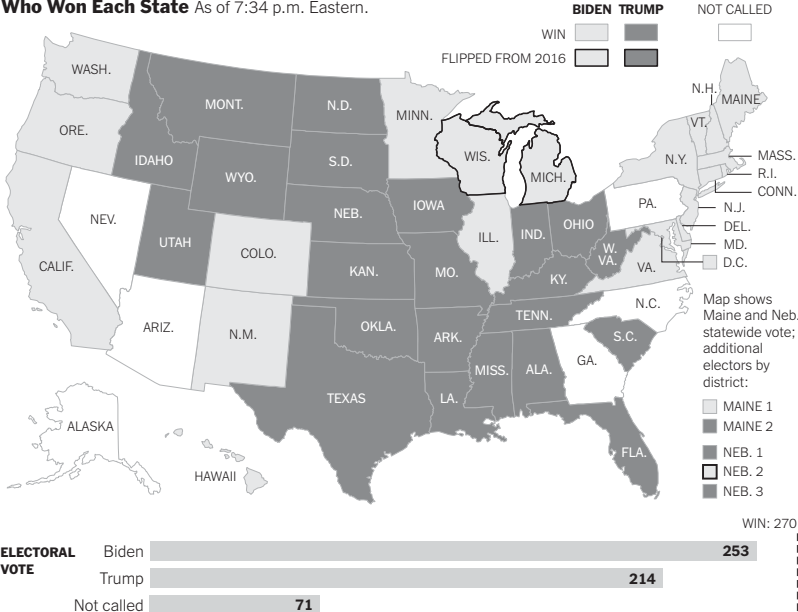
Mr. Biden and his running mate, Senator Kamala Harris, initially planned to address the nation on Friday evening, but late in the day it was uncertain whether they would appear. Campaign advisers indicated that they were ready to begin naming senior officials in an anticipated administration in a matter of days.

In what appeared to be another attempt to create an artificial sense of uncertainty around the vote count, the Pennsylvania Republican Party appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court on Friday, asking it to order state election officials to separate mail-in ballots that arrived after Election Day from all the other votes they were tabulating — even though Republicans acknowledged in the filing that Pennsylvania’s secretary of state had already issued an order to that effect.

The attempt to involve the Supreme Court came as part of a larger legal fight over mail-in balloting rules in Pennsylvania, in which the high court has already declined twice to get involved. But state authorities said there were fewer mail-in votes arriving after Tuesday than they had anticipated, suggesting that the stakes in the litigation might be relatively low.

Late Friday, a federal court in Nevada denied an injunction request by Republicans that could have delayed the count here by several days. The G.O.P. wanted to stop the use of a signature verification machine in Clark County, home to Las Vegas and a stronghold of Democratic votes. Judge Andrew Gordon of U.S. District Court refused to wade in, saying that the plaintiffs lacked evidence that the automatic scanner was affecting voters.

So far, lawsuits brought by Mr. Trump and other Republicans this



week have had no meaningful effect on the tabulation of ballots, and they seem designed largely or even entirely for public-relations purposes. The Trump campaign has not outlined a theory of how its various legal interventions could actually lead to a reversal in the underlying vote count.

On Friday, Mr. Trump vowed to exhaust all legal options available to him, making his case in an emailed statement to the news media by his campaign that was considerably more reserved than the combative remarks the president has made in live appearances and on Twitter.

Campaign officials met with White House officials on Friday, including the White House counsel Pat Cipollone, an administration official confirmed, but the legal path forward for Mr. Trump to contest the validity of the election results wasn’t resolved.

Mr. Trump has been as angry in private as he has been in public, people who have spoken to him said. Fleeting efforts to gently make him understand that the situation is bleak and unlikely to change haven’t been successful, according to people familiar with the discussions, speaking on the condition of anonymity because they weren’t authorized to discuss private conversations. And he is being egged on by Rudolph W. Giuliani, his personal lawyer, and a small handful of White House advisers.

One of the conversations that have taken place, these people said, has been about just who has the stature with Mr. Trump to deliver the bad news, if Mr. Biden is declared the winner. One adviser mentioned Mr. Trump’s son-in-

law, Jared Kushner, but others said it would most likely need to be a combination of people like Mitch McConnell, the Senate majority leader, and Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, a Trump confidant.

On Capitol Hill, some Republican leaders resisted coming to terms with the likelihood of a Biden presidency, at least in their comments for public consumption. Representative Kevin McCarthy of California, the House minority leader, firmly aligned himself with Mr. Trump. He appeared on Fox News late Thursday night to insist that the president had “won this election” and again linked arms with the president on Friday. “Republicans will not back down from this battle,” he said.

But a handful of rank-and-file House G.O.P. lawmakers declined to rise to the president’s defense. “Baseless allegations undermine the public’s confidence in our electoral system, which is the foundation of our Republic,” said Representative Steve Stivers, an Ohioan who was chairman of the House Republican campaign committee two years ago when the midterm backlash against Mr. Trump cost the party its majority.

In private, some House Republicans were even more caustic — dismayed, if not surprised, at the president’s handling of the election. Some said they were eager for him to concede, though Mr. Trump has told allies he has no plans to do so while states are still counting and the vote isn’t certified. What that means in the longer term is not clear.

Yet in a sign of the hold Mr.

Trump retains on the party’s hard-line base, few Republicans in either chamber who are not retiring or regular critics of the president would confront him by name. In Kentucky, Mr. McConnell repeatedly evaded questions from reporters about the president’s inflammatory rhetoric, pointing to a statement he had made Friday morning that “every legal vote should be counted.”

There were, however, more indirect signs that Senate Republicans were moving on from the Trump years. Mr. Graham, an ally of the president’s who just won reelection in commanding fashion, said he was not assuming that Mr. Trump had lost but allowed that he was eager to work on immigration and infrastructure and that he also thought Mr. Biden deserved to have his cabinet confirmed.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi called Mr. Biden the obvious winner in her weekly news conference, telling reporters that he would enter office with a “tremendous mandate” to govern and referring to him as president-elect, even though Mr. Biden himself has not yet declared victory.

While Democrats have set up an extensive legal operation to counter Mr. Trump in court, the Biden campaign struck a dismissive tone on Friday toward the president’s digging in and depicted him as a sore loser rather than as a menace to the democratic process.

Andrew Bates, a spokesman for Mr. Biden, suggested that if Mr. Trump declined to concede an election he had lost, then “the United States government is perfectly capable of escorting trespassers out of the White House.”

Where Biden Won: 253 Electoral Votes

Boldface: swing states that were most contested

■ Winning party flipped from 2016

	ELECTORAL VOTES	PERCENTAGE OF VOTES COUNTED AS OF 7:34 P.M. EASTERN		BIDEN VOTES/ PCT. OF TOTAL		TRUMP VOTES/ PCT. OF TOTAL
Calif.	55	77%		8,180,018 65%	4,152,425 33%	
N.Y.	29	84%		4,235,992 58%	2,934,143 40%	
Ill.	20	88%		2,959,851 55%	2,312,537 43%	
■ Mich.	16	>98%		2,794,853 50%	2,646,956 48%	
N.J.	14	76%		2,017,583 59%	1,366,181 40%	
Va.	13	>98%		2,378,035 54%	1,952,062 44%	
Wash.	12	93%		2,247,967 59%	1,453,240 38%	
Mass.	11	92%		2,244,500 65%	1,116,333 32%	
Md.	10	70%		1,367,129 63%	759,962 35%	
■ Minn.	10	96%		1,717,815 52%	1,485,450 45%	
■ Wis.	10	>98%		1,630,569 49%	1,610,030 49%	
Colo.	9	95%		1,753,416 55%	1,335,253 42%	
Conn.	7	96%		1,045,263 59%	697,599 39%	
Ore.	7	97%		1,304,536 57%	928,706 40%	
N.M.	5	>98%		497,202 54%	400,447 44%	
Hawaii	4	>98%		365,802 64%	196,602 34%	
Maine*	3	91%		418,449 54%	339,256 43%	
■ N.H.	4	>98%		422,284 53%	365,248 46%	
R.I.	4	97%		300,325 59%	197,421 39%	
D.C.	3	80%		258,561 93%	14,449 5%	
Del.	3	>98%		295,413 59%	199,857 40%	
Vt.	3	95%		227,231 65%	111,131 32%	

Where Trump Won: 214 Electoral Votes

Texas	38	97%		5,210,384 46%	5,867,660 52%
Fla.	29	96%		5,269,926 48%	5,646,949 51%
Ohio	18	90%		2,576,590 45%	3,038,247 53%
Ind.	11	>98%		1,239,529 41%	1,727,085 57%
Tenn.	11	>98%		1,139,364 37%	1,849,791 61%
Mo.	10	>98%		1,242,851 41%	1,711,848 57%
Ala.	9	>98%		843,473 36%	1,434,159 62%
S.C.	9	>98%		1,091,416 43%	1,383,741 55%
Ky.	8	98%		776,783 36%	1,339,938 62%
La.	8	>98%		855,597 40%	1,255,482 58%
Okla.	7	96%		503,890 32%	1,020,280 65%
Ark.	6	>98%		417,898 35%	755,820 63%
Iowa	6	92%		757,780 45%	896,500 53%
Kan.	6	>98%		542,646 41%	748,608 57%
Miss.	6	86%		447,162 39%	683,527 60%
Utah	6	88%		444,531 37%	701,078 59%
Neb.*	4	98%		362,038 39%	544,150 59%
W.Va.	5	>98%		232,502 30%	539,610 69%
Idaho	4	>98%		286,991 33%	554,019 64%
Mont.	3	>98%		243,714 40%	341,763 57%
N.D.	3	91%		114,687 32%	234,962 65%
S.D.	3	>98%		150,475 36%	261,108 62%
Wyo.	3	>98%		73,445 27%	193,454 70%

Not Called: 71 Electoral Votes

Pa.	20	96%		3,323,940 50%	3,304,356 49%
Ga.	16	>98%		2,456,473 49%	2,452,511 49%
N.C.	15	98%		2,656,207 49%	2,732,733 50%
Ariz.	11	94%		1,572,346 50%	1,535,511 49%
Nev.	6	93%		632,558 50%	609,901 48%
Alaska	3	56%		56,849 33%	108,231 63%

Total **74,184,839 51%** **70,048,310 48%**

*The number of electoral votes shown for Maine and Nebraska may be fewer than their total electoral votes because they also award votes to the winner of each congressional district.

Source: National Election Pool/Edison Research (election results)

THE NEW YORK TIMES

THE ENDGAME

Americans Party and Pray, but Mostly Wait, as the Vote Tally Drags On

From Page A1

“I feel like things are being yanked from underneath me,” said Joel Medina, 44, a businessman from Rowlett, Texas, who cast the first vote in his life on Tuesday for Mr. Trump. He had not ruled out that Mr. Trump would eventually come out on top. Still, even some of those with deep suspicions about the election had resigned themselves to a Biden victory. It was proof, as they saw it, that in the end the swamp always wins.

“I’ll never forget it, they were so shocked when he got elected,” recalled Kim Anzelmi, 55, of Scranton, Pa., who had assumed politics to be irredeemably rigged until the night Mr. Trump won in November 2016. That election had changed her mind about the system and what was possible — briefly. Now she is as cynical about it as ever. “Politics has been crooked since the Romans,” she said.

But Dolores Selico, who cast a ballot for Mr. Biden on Tuesday in a high school gymnasium in South Los Angeles, was confident that whatever would transpire would be “God’s will.”

When Ms. Selico voted, she wore a T-shirt bearing the face of John Lewis, the late civil rights pioneer. It was a way to honor “what our ancestors went through so we could vote,” said Ms. Selico, a Black woman who is 80 years old.

Shanna Davidson, a social worker in Louisville, Ky., who also backed Mr. Biden, had seen enough to feel relief.

“Today’s a good day,” she said. Still, she recognized that tens of millions of Americans voted differently from her, and would be as dejected as she was now invigorated. The election appeared so close when she woke up on Wednesday morning, she said, that “I about had a nervous breakdown.”

This was the thing, though. In this strange and ongoing limbo of an uncalled election, there was still plenty of anxiety to go around. For every Biden voter like Susan Macovsky, buying bottles of prosecco at a Pennsylvania liquor store to celebrate — even if perhaps a little prematurely, she admitted — there was another, like Rachael Lindemann, relieved but still nervous.

“I’m not going to count my chickens before they’re hatched,” she said.

There had been plenty of evidence in her life that things could change suddenly and inexplicably. Her husband, a struggling dairy farmer in Albany, Wis., had supported Mr. Trump in 2016, while she had voted for Hillary Clinton. But Mr. Trump’s trade war with China ravaged their finances, and they eventually had to sell their farm and cows. Mr.



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



BRYAN DENTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

After three nerve-racking days, voters across the country stayed vigilant as they waited for state election officials to finish counting the remaining mail ballots. A Biden supporter in Philadelphia, above, and Trump backers in Detroit, left, on Friday.

plenty of people who have lived here from birth had learned — this week and over the past four years — that it was perhaps not the country they thought they had known.

“I’m sort of sick to my stomach,” said Sam Diana, a 55-year-old antiques dealer in Scranton — and a lifelong Democrat — who voted for Mr. Trump. He had been lying on the couch watching the returns for days, learning on Friday morning during a trip to Sam’s Club that his state had likely flipped to Mr. Biden. “I definitely, definitely, definitely believe it was fixed.”

Beneath all this, however, lay deep and unresolved questions about what was happening in the country and in the minds of his fellow citizens.

“Something’s going on in America — something scary,” Mr. Diana said. “It makes you get a lump in your throat when you think, Is this really America? Are we all partners? Why did they hate that man so much?”

Across the state in Erie that same morning, Karen Moski, 67, was leaving the house for work when she learned that Mr. Biden was now ahead in Pennsylvania. Among friends the night before she had found out that her home county, a reliably Democratic

stronghold that had shockingly sent most of its votes to Mr. Trump four years ago, had also turned back to blue again.

“We’re getting rid of Donald Trump and that has been my goal for years,” she said, laughing at the realization that an outspoken Trump-supporting colleague would be coming into the office later that day. Perhaps Erie’s reversal was a sign the county had “probably just made a mistake” in 2016.

But there was no going back completely. Ms. Moski had learned things about her city over the last four years, she said, opinions that friends had about race and politics that had surprised her. Biden victory or not, Erie — and the country — would never be the same.

“That was an awakening,” she said. “We have some work to do.”

Campbell Robertson reported from Pittsburgh, Audra D.S. Burch from Hollywood, Fla., and Sabrina Tavernise from Stroudsburg, Pa. Reporting was contributed by Jake Healy from Denver, Jon Hurdle from Philadelphia, Tim Arango from Los Angeles, Elizabeth Dias from Washington, Will Wright from Louisville, Ky., Ruth Graham from Warner, N.H., and J. David Goodman from Houston.

DWINDLING OPTIONS

Trump’s Legal Blitz Hits Wall of Reality as Team Fails to Show Evidence of Fraud

From Page A1

surrogates seemed less focused on substantive legal arguments that could hold up in court than on bolstering the president’s political narrative, unsupported by the facts, that he was somehow being robbed of a second term.

The most high-profile step of the day came when Pennsylvania Republicans asked the U.S. Supreme Court to step in and require election officials in the state to segregate ballots that arrived after Election Day to keep them from being counted toward the total in the largest and most critical of the swing states.

But the move was almost entirely for show: Pennsylvania is already segregating those ballots, counting them separately and is not including them in the announced vote totals. The secretary of state, over the objections of Republicans and Mr. Trump, has said they can be counted if they arrived by 5 p.m. on Friday, in line with a state court ruling. A state official said those ballots number in the thousands but not tens of thousands.

Their lack of progress in stopping the count or making a persuasive case for large-scale ballot fraud left Mr. Trump and his team increasingly reliant for political salvation on recoups — which appeared likely to take place in Georgia, Nevada, Arizona and Wisconsin but which rarely result in big swings in vote counts.

The Trump effort may be getting a boost from state legislatures in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, which are both controlled by Republicans. In Wisconsin, Robin Vos, the speaker of the State Assembly, directed a legislative committee to “use its investigatory powers” to conduct a review of the election, again raising the specter of voter fraud without offering specific evidence.

In Pennsylvania, the two top Republicans in the legislature called on Gov. Tom Wolf, a Democrat, to conduct “an immediate audit” of the election.

At the same time, allies of the president openly suggested an extreme move: to use baseless allegations of Democratic malfeasance to pressure Republican-controlled state legislatures in key states to send pro-Trump electors to the Electoral College regardless of the results of the popular vote.

Officials with the Biden campaign said they would meet every legal challenge Mr. Trump brought but said they were confident that none of the cases they had seen so far seemed likely to loosen Mr. Biden’s tightening grasp on the presidency.

“The Republican legal claims are utterly baseless and have failed and will continue to fail in the courts,” said Bob Bauer, a senior adviser to the Biden campaign. “They serve no purpose other than to echo Donald Trump’s discredited and shameful attack on the democratic process.”

In a statement, the Republican Party’s chief counsel, Justin Riemer, said, “We are focused on protecting the integrity of the vote and ensuring all legally cast ballots are counted,” but he was not made available for further comment on the particulars of the party’s legal strategy.

The intensive Trump effort was the endgame of a long-planned contingency in which the president planned to challenge any possible loss through claims that the voting system was “rigged” against him. The campaign has been abetted by a robust pro-Trump media ecosystem, with Mr. Trump’s own social media accounts at its center, amplifying his false claims.

As the legal push has failed to make substantial headway this

week it has taken on an urgent, at times desperate, tone.

On Thursday, Eric Trump, one of the president’s sons, said on Twitter, “I truly hope the @FBI/@DOJ engages immediately.” The former Republican speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich, echoed the president’s son on Fox News, calling for the jailing of poll workers and more involvement from Attorney General William P. Barr.

The former Republican Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich, echoed the president’s son on Fox News, calling for the jailing of poll workers and more involvement from Attorney General William P. Barr.

But in the days since the election, Mr. Barr and the Justice Department have been largely silent. After initially echoing Mr. Trump’s warnings about electoral fraud, Mr. Barr muted his statements, and Mr. Trump complained to aides about the department’s lack of action.

But a supportive outside group, True the Vote — one of the most prominent promoters of the false narrative that “voter fraud” is

rampant in the United States — sought to help Mr. Trump build his cases. On Friday, it announced it had formed a \$1 million “Whistleblower Defense Fund” to “incentivize” witnesses to step forward with charges of malfeasance.

No state was seeing more legal activity than Pennsylvania, where the Trump campaign and local Re-

publicans had brought at least a half-dozen lawsuits immediately before and after Election Day.

The case that had the potential to affect the most votes was the one filed at the Supreme Court on Friday seeking an order that would force election officials in Pennsylvania to separate mailed ballots that arrived after Election Day from other mailed ballots. In its emergency application, the party acknowledged that the sec-

Some supporters of the president call for extreme measures.



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Counting ballots in Philadelphia on Friday. The tallies in Pennsylvania and Georgia tipped in favor of Joseph R. Biden Jr.

retary of state’s office had already ordered election officials to do so but said it had no way to know if they had complied.

Republicans have been unsuccessfully fighting the secretary of state’s decision to allow election officials in Pennsylvania to count mail-in ballots that arrived at their offices by Friday as long as they had postmarks from Election Day or before. The Supreme Court had twice passed up opportunities to rule on the dispute, though the case is still technically pending, giving the justices the opportunity to weigh in if they saw reason to do so.

But even if the court were to take the case and rule in favor of the Republicans to wipe out all of the ballots in question — votes from mail ballots have overwhelmingly gone to Mr. Biden — it would not affect the current vote totals, which do not include the ballots that came in after Election Day. By early Friday evening, Mr. Biden had a lead of about 17,000 votes in Pennsylvania.

Other suits in Pennsylvania sought to knock out votes that were the result of a decision by Secretary of State Kathy Boockvar to allow county officials to give voters a chance to fix mistakes in rejected mail-in ballots or to cast provisional votes instead.

A federal judge dismissed one of those cases on Friday, in Montgomery County outside Philadelphia, two days after implying during a hearing that he viewed the effort as a move to disenfranchise voters who were following state instructions.

But even if that case had succeeded, it would have affected only 93 votes. Similarly, in Michigan, a judge dismissed a Republican suit challenging the vote count in the state, noting the counting was already effectively over and dismissing some of the evidence as based on hearsay.

Frustrated supporters of the president like the talk radio host Mark Levin called on Republican legislatures in states including Pennsylvania to use their constitutional authority to send a pro-Trump delegation of electors to the Electoral College regardless of the popular vote.

Asked during a news briefing on Friday if state Republicans would do so, the majority leader of the Pennsylvania senate, Jake Corman, replied, “We want to stay in the tradition that the popular vote winner wins the election.”

Even if the state Republicans could make such a move legally — the legislature “cannot simply ignore the popular vote,” said Attorney General Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania — it was an extreme example of the lengths to which some Trump supporters seem willing to go.

In several states Mr. Trump was challenging state voting rules, effectively seeking to nullify votes cast in accordance with official guidelines.

Republicans in Nevada asked the Justice Department late Thursday to open an investigation into voter fraud involving 3,000 ballots, a move Democrats said was based on “entirely fabricated” claims.

The Justice Department declined to address the matter publicly, but its guidelines generally preclude opening criminal investigations into election-related matters until results are completed.

Local Republicans included the allegation in a suit they filed in federal court seeking a change in the way Clark County, Nev., is conducting its count. A judge dismissed the case on Friday evening, when the count showed a 22,000-ballot lead for Mr. Biden.

Michael S. Schmidt, Katie Benner and Adam Liptak contributed reporting.

State by State, a Look At Election Court Fights

This article is by **Jim Rutenberg**, **Alan Feuer**, **Nick Corasaniti** and **Reid J. Epstein**.

With Joseph R. Biden Jr. edging closer to victory in the presidential race, President Trump and the Republican Party have been intensifying efforts to halt the counting of ballots and to challenge the ballots of Democratic voters in lawsuits across the country.

Nearly a dozen suits were already making their way through the courts in Nevada, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Georgia, four key states where Mr. Biden leads or has won the vote count.

But none of them appear — at least not yet — to provide Mr. Trump what he would need to prevail: the rejection of enough Democratic ballots in enough states to reverse any Biden victory.

If Mr. Trump and the Republicans cannot find those rejections through the courts, they could — and will — try to do so through recounts, but the bar is high there too.

Here are the cases currently underway or facing a potential appeal. All of them have been initiated by Mr. Trump, his party or his allies.

Pennsylvania

The Postmark Battle

Status: *At the U.S. Supreme Court*
In September, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled that election officials could accept ballots postmarked by Election Day but arriving up to three days later. Republicans subsequently sued, and the case made it to the U.S. Supreme Court.

But in late October, the Supreme Court declined to intercede, saying it was too close to Election Day to make such a ruling, but it left open the possibility of a decision at a later date.

On Wednesday, the Trump campaign filed a motion to intervene in the case, and on Friday the Pennsylvania Republican Party sought to join the effort.

But this fight may prove fruitless, as Mr. Biden's lead in the state is based on ballots cast by Election Day and is expected to grow. Pennsylvania's secretary of state, Kathy Boockvar, said on Thursday that there were not large numbers of late-arriving ballots. As of Friday night, there had been no further action on this case.

Observers

Status: *Pending in state court and resolved in federal court*

On Thursday morning, a Pennsylvania state court handed Mr. Trump a minor victory. A judge ruled that election observers from the Trump campaign, who were allowed to stand 10 feet from the vote counting at the Philadelphia convention center, could move

closer, to six feet.

By the end of the day, however, lawyers for the Trump campaign had filed an emergency petition in federal court claiming that election officials in the city were not abiding by the state court's decision and asking that the count in Philadelphia be delayed.

At a hastily scheduled hearing Thursday night, however, Mr. Trump's campaign admitted that "a nonzero number" of Republican observers had in fact turned up.

"Then what's the problem?" Judge Paul S. Diamond asked.

The Trump campaign ultimately agreed to drop its request to halt the vote count after Judge Diamond, who was appointed by President George W. Bush, allowed for a total of 120 observers at the convention center — 60 for the Democrats and 60 for the Republicans. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court has not yet ruled on the question of the observers.

Cured/Provisional Ballots

Status: *Pending in state and federal courts*

Republicans have brought suits in federal and state courts alleging that Ms. Boockvar provided improper guidance to counties by allowing them to contact voters whose mail ballots had been rejected because of errors so that those voters could fix, or "cure," their ballots or cast provisional ballots.

Both cases focus on votes in Montgomery County, where officials say only 98 ballots might be affected.

A judge in the federal case, who is also a George W. Bush appointee, expressed skepticism during a hearing on Wednesday about the validity of the Republicans' challenge. A decision is pending.

Mail-in Voter ID

Status: *Pending in state court*

The Trump campaign has also sued Ms. Boockvar for her decision to extend by three days, to Nov. 12, the deadline by which mail-in voters must submit materials confirming their identity if they are first-time voters in certain districts. It is unclear how many votes that case would potentially affect.

Nevada

Clark County

Status: *Pending appeal at state level*

Mr. Trump's campaign filed suit before Election Day seeking to stop the processing of mail-in ballots in Clark County, which includes Las Vegas. The campaign alleged that county officials were failing to give Republican observers adequate access to monitor mail-in ballot processing and that the county's signature matching



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Pam Bondi and Corey Lewandowski, center left, demanded greater access to the counting process in Philadelphia on Thursday.

Recounts

GEORGIA Brad Raffensperger, the secretary of state, announced on Friday that the state would conduct a recount in the presidential race, saying the results would fall within the margin of a recount. "We are literally looking at a margin of less than a large high school," Gabriel Sterling, Georgia's voting implementation manager, said.

WISCONSIN Mr. Trump would be entitled to a recount in Wisconsin as long as the margin between him and Mr. Biden remained less than 1 percent of the vote. The state's preliminary results show Mr. Trump trailing by about six-tenths of 1 percent.

A recount request cannot be made until all 72 of the state's counties submit their results to the Wisconsin Elections Commission, which are due by Nov. 17. The Trump campaign would have to pay for a statewide recount unless the margin shrinks to less than one-quarter of 1 percent.

PENNSYLVANIA State law requires an automatic recount if the result is half a percent or less. If the margin is larger than that, Mr. Trump could still request a statewide recount, but he would have to pay for it.

ARIZONA State law requires a recount if the margin is one-tenth of one percent or less — otherwise one cannot be requested.

NEVADA Any candidate or campaign can request a recount within three days of the final statewide canvass of results, regardless of the margin. There are no automatic state recounts.

system violated election equal protection laws because it was not being used elsewhere in the state.

A judge denied the Trump campaign's request earlier this week, citing a lack of evidence. An appellate court rejected Republicans' request that it order an immediate stop to counting but agreed to hear arguments into next week.

On Thursday, Republicans indicated that they would drop their case in return for an agreement from the county to expand their observers' access to ballot counters, but Democrats refused to agree to a dismissal, so the case is still pending. Republicans have

since filed a similar suit in federal court.

Ineligible ballots

Status: *Resolved in federal court*

In an extension of the state lawsuit, two Republican House candidates in Nevada filed a lawsuit on Thursday alleging that there were "lax procedures for authenticating ballots" in Clark County and that more than 3,000 ballots had been cast by ineligible voters, including some cast "on behalf of deceased voters."

The case was assigned to Judge Andrew P. Gordon, an appointee of President Barack Obama's, who

dismissed it on Friday. The two Republican candidates who brought the case, however, can still appeal the decision.

Arizona

"SharpieGate"

Status: *Pending in state court*

It was one of the stranger claims of the election. Hours after polls closed in Arizona, a story ricocheted around online saying that dozens, maybe even hundreds, of ballots across the state had not been counted because voters had filled them out with felt-tipped Sharpies and not with ballpoint pens.

Even though cybersecurity officials from the Department of Homeland Security urged people to ignore the tale, crowds turned up outside of a polling station in Maricopa County, yelling about "SharpieGate."

On Wednesday, Laurie Aguilera, a Maricopa County voter, filed a lawsuit with help from a conservative legal group in Indiana, claiming that her ballot — and those of untold others — had not been read properly by vote scanning machines because she had used a Sharpie and "the ink was bleeding through." Ms. Aguilera has asked a judge to let all voters who filled their ballots out with Sharpies to "cure" them.

On Thursday, the Maricopa County Elections Department released a statement saying that Sharpies were in fact "recommended by the manufacturer" of the vote tabulations machines the county uses. Later that day, the state attorney general's office issued a letter noting that the use of

Sharpies in Maricopa County "did not result in disenfranchisement."

Georgia

53 Late-Arriving Ballots

Status: *Tossed by county court*

The Trump campaign filed a lawsuit in Georgia on Wednesday, claiming that a witness had observed 53 late-arriving ballots in Chatham County not being properly stored, potentially allowing for them to mix with timely ballots, and asked that ballot counting in the county be stopped.

But Judge James Bass, on the Chatham County Superior Court, tossed the lawsuit on Thursday, saying that there was no evidence that those 53 ballots had been received after the 7 p.m. deadline and that there was no evidence county officials had failed to comply with the law.

There was no word from the Trump campaign or its Republican allies on Friday whether an appeal was pending.

Michigan

The Trump campaign filed suit on Wednesday asking a state judge to halt vote counting, alleging that its observers had been blocked from meaningful access to counting rooms. The campaign also asked for access to surveillance footage of the state's ballot drop boxes.

A judge rejected that suit on Thursday, noting that the counting had finished. Mr. Biden won the state and maintains a lead of nearly 150,000 votes. But it is not clear whether the Trump campaign will appeal.

CONSPIRACY THEORY

How Claims of Dead Michigan Voters Spread Faster Than Facts Among Trump Fans

By **JACK NICAS**

The tweets began to arrive Wednesday night, carrying explosive claims that people in Michigan were voting under the names of dead people.

Austen Fletcher, a former Ivy League football player turned right-wing internet journalist, said in videos posted to Twitter that he had discovered registration documents on a State of Michigan website that showed that four people with reported birth dates from 1900 to 1902 had submitted absentee ballots ahead of Tuesday's election. "How long has this been going on?" he asked.

By Thursday morning, Mr. Fletcher's videos were the talk of the Republican internet. "Why is it taking regular Americans to expose this level of obvious corruption?" said Candace Owens, a conservative commentator, sharing one of the videos to her 2.7 million Twitter followers.

Yet a few phone calls by Mr. Fletcher would have revealed evidence that indicates that what appeared to be fraud were run-of-the-mill clerical errors.

In one case, a 74-year-old woman in Hamlin Township, Mich., had asked for an absentee ballot for the first time in years, setting off a notice from the state's digital voter rolls that her birth date was not on file, according to Catherine Lewis, the town's clerk. The system had assigned the woman the default birth date: 01/01/01, or Jan. 1, 1901.

Ms. Lewis said she knew the woman. Hamlin Township, a rural community on Lake Michigan, has just 3,400 people. She said she had driven to the woman's home and collected a copy of her driver's license so she could vote by mail. But Ms. Lewis had not gotten around to updating her file.

"Rest assured," Ms. Lewis said, "she is a legal voter."

Then, on Thursday morning, after a marathon week for Ms. Lewis running the town's vote, her phone began ringing. "I have had 18 calls and at least 20 strange emails asking me if I committed voter fraud," she said. She was staying home with her family. "I needed to be concerned about my family's welfare," she said.

In a text message on Friday, Mr. Fletcher, who goes by the pseudonym Flecceas online, said he was about to publish evidence that thousands of ballots in Michigan had been submitted under the names of dead people. He declined to speak on the phone. "Who is requesting, filling out, and returning these ballots," he said in his message. "How many got thru? That's my question."

Since the polls closed on Tuesday, a number of internet sleuths have widely disseminated what they said was evidence that showed Democrats were trying to steal the election. In virtually every case so far, mainstream journalists have found the claims to be false or the product of typical errors in the election process.

Yet many people have not heard the truth behind the claims they are sharing — or, if they have, have dismissed it. Social media has created echo chambers where people hear largely from like-minded voices. And President Trump's years of attacks on the media have caused many of his supporters to distrust journalists.

The result is a growing belief among some Americans that the 2020 election has been undermined by widespread fraud — a view sharply amplified by the president — despite virtually no evidence.

"What's that saying? A lie gets



BRITTANY GREESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The lobby of the Detroit Department of Elections. Michigan officials have denied claims that dead people's votes were counted.

halfway around the world by the time the truth gets its pants on," said Matt Mackowiak, a Texas Republican consultant who inadvertently spurred false voter-fraud claims on Wednesday.

Mr. Mackowiak posted screenshots of an election map on Twitter that appeared to show that Joseph R. Biden Jr. had received 100 percent of newly counted ballots in an update to the vote count in Michigan early Wednesday.

Like Mr. Fletcher's dead-voter videos, Mr. Mackowiak's screenshots swiftly went viral. Conservative websites posted stories with headlines like "Very Odd: Michigan Found Over 100,000 Ballots and Every Single One Has Joe Biden's Name on It." About two hours later, Mr. Trump had shared the images on Twitter with the caption, "WHAT IS THIS ALL ABOUT?"

By that time, Mr. Mackowiak had seen people suggesting that the numbers he highlighted were the result of an error that had been

fixed. He deleted his original tweet and wrote a new post clarifying that the suspicious numbers were not the result of fraud.

The New York Times found that Mr. Biden did not receive any of the votes in question and that the mix-up was the result of a typo in a small Michigan county that was caught and corrected in about 30 minutes.

Still, Mr. Mackowiak's images continued to rocket around the internet. They were ultimately shared hundreds of thousands of times on Twitter. His correction? It had been shared 3,600 times as of Friday.

"I certainly wasn't intending to make a typo appear fraudulent," Mr. Mackowiak said. "My worst fears going into the election was that half the country would see the result as illegitimate."

A day later, after the claims connected to Mr. Mackowiak's images had been widely debunked by news organizations, Mr. Trump spent 17 minutes behind the

lectern in the White House briefing room, claiming without evidence that Democrats were trying to steal the election. One of his specific suggestions of evidence was a claim that a tranche of votes from Michigan "all had the name Biden on them."

Immediately after Mr. Trump's news conference, William Bennett, who was secretary of education under President Ronald Reagan, was asked on Fox News about possible voter fraud. "If there is evidence, and I believe there will be, it should come forward," he said. He offered only one potential example of such fraud: "Large batches of votes with not a single one for Donald Trump."

In the case of Mr. Fletcher's dead-voter claims, the three other names in Michigan that he highlighted also appeared to be votes cast by living, eligible voters.

Amanda Kirkpatrick, the clerk in Jackson County, Mich., said a resident there who had appeared in one of Mr. Fletcher's videos was an eligible voter who had cast her ballot, but the state's voter rolls had an incorrect birth date for her. Ms. Kirkpatrick said her office had contacted the woman, checked her identification and updated her birth date.

There was a similar story in Detroit, where the other two examples in Mr. Fletcher's videos matched eligible voters with identical names and ZIP codes there.

The city appeared to have mistakenly recorded the vote of William T. Bradley under his dead father, who had the same name and ZIP code. Mr. Bradley said in an interview that he had voted by mail for the first time because of the pandemic. He said that the ballot did not ask for his birth date and that he simply filled it out, signed it and sent it in mid-September. According to the State of

Michigan website, his dead father mailed an absentee ballot on Sept. 19. It said Mr. Bradley never returned his.

In the fourth case, there was another eligible Detroit voter with an identical name and ZIP code as the person named in Mr. Fletcher's video. That person could not be reached.

The Detroit city clerk did not respond to requests for comment.

Mr. Fletcher's dead-voter claims were shared hundreds of thousands of times on Twitter, reaching millions of people. On Thursday morning, the Michigan Department of State tweeted its response.

"Fact check: Ballots of deceased voters are not counted," it said. "On rare occasions, a ballot received for a living voter may be recorded in a way that makes it appear as if the voter is dead," such as someone with an incorrect birth date or a son being mistaken for his father with the same name, the statement added. "In such scenarios, no one ineligible has actually voted, and there is no impact on the outcome of the election."

The message was shared on Twitter fewer than 450 times as of Friday.

Mr. Fletcher doubled down. He shared an image on Twitter of four urns with a "Biden-Harris" and "I voted" stickers. Hours later, he uploaded a new video to YouTube, Facebook and Instagram of him walking through his findings again. In the video, he read the statement from Michigan officials.

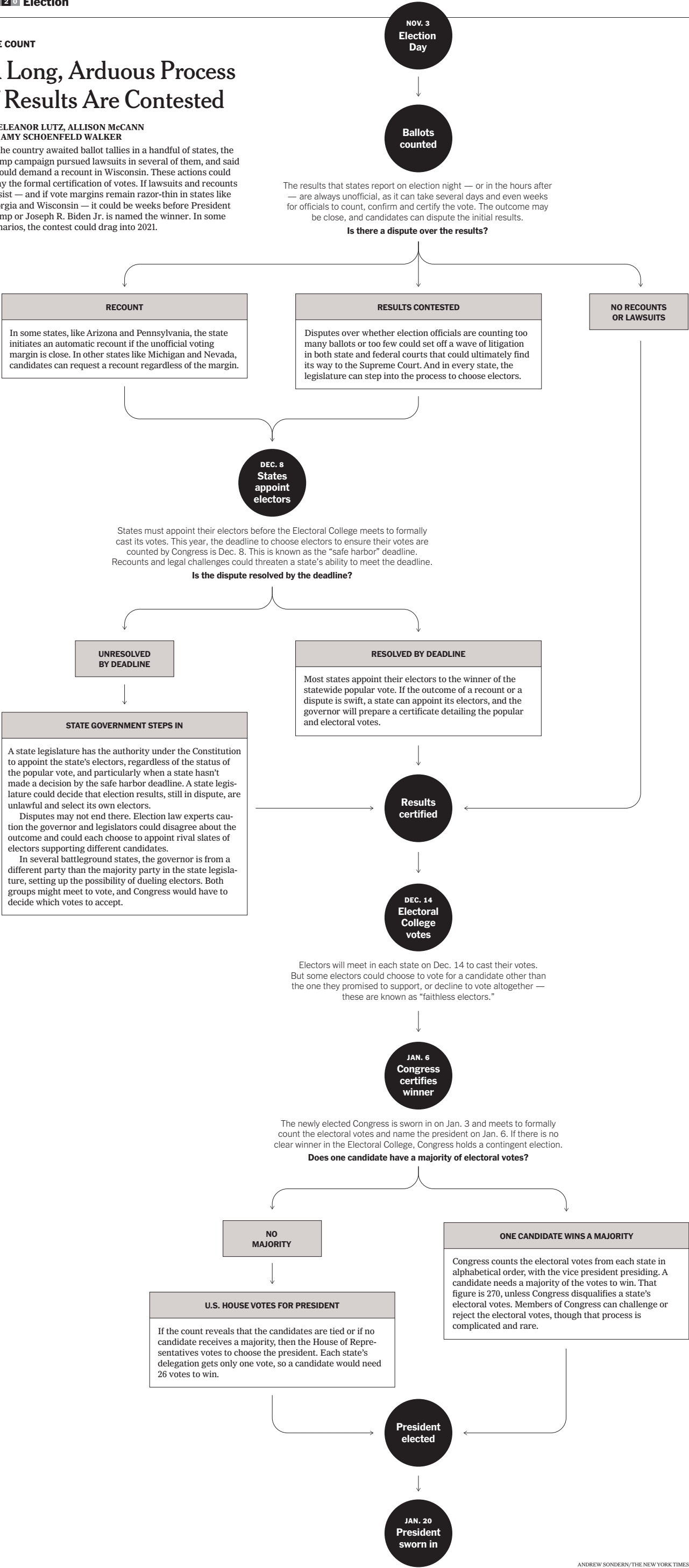
"Maybe Michigan caught some. I hope they did. But how many didn't get filtered through in the process and actually made it through and counted?" he said. "Maybe all these people voted for Joe Biden?"

THE COUNT

A Long, Arduous Process If Results Are Contested

By ELEANOR LUTZ, ALLISON McCANN and AMY SCHOENFELD WALKER

As the country awaited ballot tallies in a handful of states, the Trump campaign pursued lawsuits in several of them, and said it would demand a recount in Wisconsin. These actions could delay the formal certification of votes. If lawsuits and recounts persist — and if vote margins remain razor-thin in states like Georgia and Wisconsin — it could be weeks before President Trump or Joseph R. Biden Jr. is named the winner. In some scenarios, the contest could drag into 2021.



MEDIA

Chartthrobs: Geeky, Tired And Winning Viewers Over

By SANDRA E. GARCIA

Election Day in the United States has been a four-day marathon, with Americans glued to their TVs as they wait for the next president to be named. In a race as close as this one, and with many mail-in ballots still being counted, millions of people have been relying on minute-to-minute electoral math to keep up.

Enter the “Chartthrobs.”

CNN’s John King, MSNBC’s Steve Kornacki and others have worked tirelessly this week, doing quick mental calculations in front of touch-screen digital maps, breaking down lead margins and the probabilities for flipping electoral districts.

Mr. King, silver-haired and usually in a dark suit, has taken to zooming in on digital maps of Georgia and Pennsylvania, battleground states where mail-in votes are still being tallied, to explain where the latest vote counts are coming from and why counting has lagged. He has been in the studio seemingly from dusk to dawn; on Thursday, he told The Los Angeles Times that he’d slept only about six hours since Election Day.

Mr. Kornacki, bespectacled, sporting khaki pants and with a clipboard in tow, is the nerdier chartthrob and has earned several written appreciations this week for his steady, soothing presence (there’s even a “Kornacki Cam” for commercial breaks). His fan base assembled when it was clear that Mr. Kornacki had spent more than 10 hours live on air. On Twitter, many people expressed concern for his well-being and asked about when he had last slept (or changed his clothes).

“I saw after I finally left the studio all these incredibly kind and friendly and nice messages everybody had on social media,” Mr. Kornacki said in a video MSNBC tweeted. “I just wanted to say thank you.”

The CNN anchor Abby D. Phillip has also won over viewers, chart or not, with her calm presence and clear analysis. “Not only would Black women put Joe Biden in the White House, but they would also put a Black woman in the White House as well,” Ms. Phillip said, “and that is the sort of historical poetry that I think we will live with for a long time.”



John King, a correspondent for CNN.



Steve Kornacki, a correspondent for MSNBC.

SCENES

ACTORS IN DEMOCRACY’S DRAMA

As votes are counted across the country, Americans have taken to the streets in moods that range from angry to somber to celebratory.

► **BOUQUET**
A supporter of Joseph R. Biden Jr. on Friday at Chase Center on the Riverfront in Wilmington, Del., where he spoke on election night.



AMR ALFIKY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



BRYAN DENTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

▲ **BELIEF**
Supporters of President Trump, including militia members, rallied on Friday in front of TCF Center in Detroit.

► **BUOYANT**
Things were still up in the air on Friday at Chase Center in Wilmington.





RUTH FREMSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

◀BULWARK
President Trump's backers gathered on Friday morning outside the Pennsylvania Convention Center, where ballots were being tallied.



AMR ALFIKY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



RUTH FREMSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

▲BATTLING
A supporter of the president, Daphne Goggins, left, and Daniel Gonzalez, a Biden supporter, argued about the election on Friday at the Pennsylvania Convention Center.



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

◀BANNERS
Signs belonging to Biden supporters on Thursday outside the Pennsylvania Convention Center at a rally to support the ballot counting inside.

THE POPULAR VOTE

A Cliffhanger of an Election, With One Candidate Leading by Millions

By MAGGIE ASTOR

As the presidential race inches agonizingly toward a conclusion, it might be easy to miss the fact that the results are not really close.

With many ballots still left to count in heavily Democratic cities, former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. was leading President Trump on Friday by more than 4.1 million votes. Amid all the anxiety over the counts in Pennsylvania and Georgia, and despite Americans' intense ideological divisions, there was no question that — for the fourth presidential election in a row, and the seventh of the past eight — more people had chosen a Democrat than a Republican.

Only once in the past 30 years have more Americans voted for a Republican: in 2004, when President George W. Bush beat John Kerry by about three million votes. But three times, a Republican has been elected.

Mr. Biden is very likely to win the Electoral College, avoiding another split with the popular vote. But the prolonged uncertainty in spite of the public's fairly decisive preference — Mr. Biden's current vote margin is larger than the populations of more than 20 states, and larger than Hillary Clinton's margin in 2016 — has intensified some Americans' anger at a system in which a minority of people can often claim a majority of power.

“We look at a map of so-called red and blue states and treat that map as land and not people,” said Carol Anderson, a professor of African-American studies at Emory University who researches voter suppression. “Why, when somebody has won millions more votes than their opponent, are we still deliberating over 10,000 votes here, 5,000 votes there?”

In principle, the Electoral College could benefit either party depending on the geographic distribution of its supporters. As recently as four years ago, it looked as if it would help Democrats, and in 2004, if Mr. Kerry had won just 119,000 more votes in Ohio out of more than 5.6 million cast there, he would have won the presidency despite losing the popular vote.

But in practice, it has overwhelmingly benefited Republicans in recent years despite the national electorate tilting the other way. And the potential for the Electoral College to diverge from the popular vote has only grown as more Americans have come to live in urban areas and many communities have become more ideologically homogeneous.



ADRIANA ZEHBRAUSKAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

More Americans have voted for a Democrat than for a Republican in four straight presidential elections, and seven of the past eight.

In 2000, when Al Gore won the popular vote by about 550,000 votes but Mr. Bush won the Electoral College, such a split hadn't happened in more than a century. Now, it has happened twice in 20 years and come close to happening a third time, despite much larger popular-vote margins. What used to be an extreme rarity has begun to feel common.

Therein lies a more serious concern than partisan politics: the potential delegitimization of the United States' democratic systems in the eyes of its citizens.

“The more this happens, the more you get the sense that voters don't have a say in the choice of their leaders,” said Norman Ornstein, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative think tank. “And you cannot have a democracy over a period of time that survives if a majority of people believe that their franchise is meaningless.”

The United States, as supporters of the Electoral College often note, is a republic, meaning decisions are made through elected representatives rather than by direct vote. But “the fundamental of a republican form of democracy,” Dr. Ornstein said, “is that voters

choose their representatives, who then make decisions on their behalf.”

The prospect of minority rule is certainly not new, and the fact that the Constitution allows it is by design, not accident. Most obvious, the Constitution originally allowed only white men to vote, and most states required voters to own property, too, disenfranchising most Americans.

The three-fifths clause, which counted slaves as three-fifths of a person for the purposes of congressional apportionment, gave Southern states more representation on the backs of people who couldn't vote for and weren't represented by their ostensible representatives. By 1820, Dr. Anderson said, the South had 18 to 20 extra seats in the House as a result.

The framers also consciously made the Senate unrepresentative, giving each state two seats regardless of population and leaving it to state legislators to fill them. The intent was for the Senate to serve as a check on the will of the people, which was to be represented in the House.

But the 17th Amendment established direct election of senators in 1913, and the difference in popu-

lation between the largest and smallest states has vastly increased since the Constitution was written. The current Democratic minority in the Senate was elected with more votes than the Republican majority, and by 2040, based on population projections, about 70 percent of Americans will be represented by 30 percent of senators.

Nearly a century ago, Carroll H. Woody published an academic paper that examined the likelihood of “unrepresentative votes” in the Senate, by which he meant votes in which senators on the winning side represented fewer Americans than senators on the losing side. He concluded that these votes happened infrequently, largely because “there has been no continuous alliance of thinly populated states against the more densely peopled areas.”

Today, of course, population density is very much correlated with partisanship, and the makeup of the Senate is unrepresentative of the population not only in party but in race, gender, age and other characteristics.

Supporters of the Electoral College argue that it protects less-populous states, ensuring that

their interests aren't overridden by those of, say, New York and California. At the same time, opponents note that the system means candidates pay attention only to a small number of states, and that it devalues the votes of people in either party who live in a state dominated by the other. Republicans in Illinois don't affect presidential elections, and neither do Democrats in Tennessee.

It remains to be seen whether the 2020 election will give new fuel to efforts to eliminate or circumvent the Electoral College, which have always been long shots even though a majority of Americans — 61 percent in a Gallup poll released in September; 58 percent in a Pew Research Center poll in March — believe it should be abolished.

John Koza, the chairman of National Popular Vote Inc., said his group — which has been pushing state legislatures for years to sign on to a compact in which states would pledge to award their electors to the winner of the national popular vote — planned to lobby intensively next year in states including Arizona, Minnesota, North Carolina and Pennsylvania. The compact has already been

signed by states, mainly blue, totaling 196 electoral votes, but it will not take effect unless that number reaches 270.

Dr. Koza, a computer scientist who taught at Stanford University, argues that the Electoral College should be abolished not because it systematically benefits one party over the other, but because it increases the odds that election results will be challenged even when Americans' overall preference is clear — precisely what is happening now.

“When you split the 150 million votes into 50 buckets, there's going to be close results in a certain number of the states,” he said. This “spawns disputes, and then it spawns lawyers running into court over hairsplitting issues, trying to win the White House for their candidate even though their candidate hasn't won the support of people across the country.”

While the idea of abolishing the Electoral College is popular mainly among Democrats now, there was more bipartisan support before the 2016 election made it clear how much it could benefit Republicans. Before 2016, a common interpretation had been the opposite: that Democrats had the advantage because of the now-famous “blue wall” that included Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

“Republicans are disappearing from the competitive landscape at the national level across the most heavily populated sections of the country while intensifying their hold on a declining electoral bloc of aging, white, rural voters,” Chris Ladd, a conservative writer, wrote in The Houston Chronicle after the 2014 midterm elections. “It became apparent from the numbers last week that no Republican candidate has a credible shot at the White House in 2016, and the chance of the G.O.P. holding the Senate for longer than two years is precisely zero.”

In early 2016, a bill that would have added Missouri to the National Popular Vote Interstate Compact passed legislative committees unanimously, and similar bills received at least some bipartisan support in Oklahoma and Utah.

But “legislators didn't have much appetite for it once Trump won the way he did,” Dr. Koza said. “The issue is bipartisan when it's looked at as a policy issue of what's good government, what's the right way to do it. But anything else inevitably becomes intertwined with, does one party think they have a temporary political advantage by keeping the system the same?”

ARIZONA

Immigration Crackdown Helped Turn Political Tide

This article is by *Simon Romero, Miriam Jordan and Michael Wines.*

PHOENIX — Ten years ago, Maricopa County was the place that spawned the political careers of Republican hard-liners like Joe Arpaio, the sheriff who demonized immigrants and placed inmates in a tent camp. Politicians from Phoenix and its suburbs thrived with appeals to voters on guns, religion and taxes.

But these days, the county's scorching growth has produced a battleground in which Republicans suddenly find themselves on the defensive. The children of the immigrants targeted by Mr. Arpaio, as well as an influx of outsiders from places like California, are reshaping the political landscape of this part of the West.

As Arizona now stands to become a coveted prize for Democrats, Maricopa County is undergoing what may amount to one of the biggest political shifts of any major county in the United States in recent years. The last time Maricopa County came this close to siding with a Democratic presidential candidate was in 1948.

“We think of John Wayne and the Sonoran Desert when we have visions of Arizona, but the truth is we're an urban state where the Phoenix metro area is the heart and soul of Arizona at this point,” said Joseph Garcia, executive director of Chicanos Por La Causa Action Fund, a Phoenix group that helped register and turn out thousands of Latino voters for Joseph R. Biden Jr.

There is now a considerable list of elected positions in the county that are held by Democrats, including county recorder, sheriff, assessor and school superintendent — all in the place where the five-term Republican senator Barry Goldwater led the re-

surge of the American conservative movement in the 1960s and '70s.

Various factors have contributed to the political reconfiguration, originating with the backlash — including from powerful Republicans in the Phoenix business establishment — against Arizona's immigration crackdown in 2010. The changes began to take shape clearly by 2016, when Mr. Arpaio was defeated and Hillary Clinton lost the county by just three percentage points.

They accelerated in 2018 with Kyrsten Sinema's flip of a Senate seat into Democratic hands. And they turned into a potential game-changer this week, as the county appeared to be providing a crucial boost to Mr. Biden's bid for the presidency and Mark Kelly's flip of yet another Senate seat held by Republicans.

Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. led President Trump by about three percentage points in Maricopa County as of Friday afternoon — in a county that in 2012 saw Mitt Romney, then the Republican nominee for president, carry Maricopa County by 12 percentage points.

“Right now, Maricopa is tangibly, unabashedly, demonstrably a Democratic county, something I never thought I would see in my lifetime,” said Stan Barnes, 59, a longtime Republican strategist in Phoenix. “It just blows my mind.”

Even as Maricopa County's individualistic gunslinging reputation is giving way to calls for change from its increasingly diverse electorate, it remains — like much of the country — sharply divided along political fault lines. The county's Republicans maintain immense sway in Arizona's state politics. Some of Mr. Trump's most fervent supporters live in Maricopa County, reflected in the armed protesters who have been positioning themselves this week in front of the County Recorder's voting tabulation site.

Accounting for about 60 percent of Arizona's population with



ADRIANA ZEHBRAUSKAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Supporters rallied at the “Low Ridin’ for Biden” event in South Phoenix, Ariz., on Sunday.

nearly 4.5 million people, Maricopa County ranks among the fastest-growing counties in the United States. The influx of more voters from other states, many of them relatively moderate or liberal, has produced some of this growth.

But the county has also provided one of the most important venues for the ascendancy of Latino voters and elected officials in recent years, following the rapid growth of its Latino population since the start of the century, from about 365,000 in 2000 to more than 1.3 million in 2020.

While Latinos in Florida got much of the nation's attention this week for helping Mr. Trump win that state, efforts to boost voting for Democrats by Arizona's Latinos got relatively little notice — and negligible help from the national Democratic Party, Mr. Garcia said.

“All the attention for whatever reason goes to Miami-Dade County as if that is the center of the universe for Latinos,” he said. Referring to the national party, he added, “We didn't get any help from them, but for us the Latino vote was too important and we weren't going to wait around.”

The shift from the old days seems jarring even to some of the Democrats involved in making it happen.

Adrian Fontes, a former trial lawyer and Marine, became the first Latino elected to countywide office in Maricopa County in 2016.

“I never thought I would get elected, period,” said Mr. Fontes, who now oversees elections as the county recorder after defeating a Republican incumbent who had held the seat since 1988. “I did not anticipate because of my lack of political savvy that Maricopa County would be the most important county in the most important presidential race in recent history,” he said in a recent interview.

As votes in the county are counted this week, pro-Trump protesters, some of them armed with military-style rifles, have unsuccessfully demanded to be allowed in the building where the tabulation is taking place. The crowds have at times been chanting for Mr. Fontes to be recalled.

Since he is also running for reelection, Mr. Fontes is staying away from both the tabulation center and his own recorder's complex to avoid the appearance of any impropriety during the vote

count. He is leading his Republican opponent in the race.

“It's the deliciousness of irony that not one of these people voted for me and we all want the exact same thing from this election: We want every valid vote counted,” he said of the protests.

Many Democrats trace the changes that made them competitive in Maricopa County to the spate of anti-immigrant laws a decade ago that helped galvanize Latino youth in Arizona. A decade later, they have given rise to a generation of activists and elected officials.

Raquel Terán, a Democratic state legislator who represents a district that encompasses parts of Phoenix and Glendale, began her political career as a field organizer fighting against anti-immigrant legislation and for workers' rights.

In 2012, she ran for office and lost by just 113 votes before resuming work as an organizer. Eventually, she became the state director for Mi Familia Vota, a national group that helps Latinos become citizens and register to vote. She decided to enter the race again in 2018, and won. This year she ran unopposed for a second

term.

“Through the years, we have been building political power,” Ms. Terán said. “And 2020 shows our work is paying off.”

Another activist, Anabel Maldonado, was in high school when Arizona enacted legislation in 2010 that empowered the police to stop and question anyone they suspected of being in the country illegally, targeting undocumented immigrants in a state that had become a laboratory for such measures.

Mr. Arpaio, the former sheriff, enforced the law, known as SB1070, by deploying his deputies across Maricopa County to conduct arrests and workplace raids.

“Just being Latino in the state gave us a lot of anxiety,” said Ms. Maldonado, 29. “You'd say goodbye to your parents in the morning and not know if they would be caught up in a raid.”

Instead of leaving the state, she said, many young Latinos were energized. “It turned into a moment for folks to stand up, fight back and move past the fear to do something about it,” she said.

A decade later, Ms. Maldonado, the daughter of a janitor and a teacher's aide who immigrated to Phoenix from Mexico, is among the many children of immigrants who have built a grass-roots movement that has educated and mobilized hundreds of thousands of Latino voters.

Ms. Maldonado began working with an organization called Lucha, or Living United for Change in Arizona, that was formed in response to the anti-immigrant law.

Hundreds of volunteers from a coalition of organizations worked during the recent election campaign, braving 110-degree heat in face shields to engage Latinos in a “Basta Trump” (“Enough of Trump”) campaign. Others made phone calls and sent texts.

“We were helping people focus on our struggles, access to education, health care and jobs,” said Eduardo Sainz, state director of Mi Familia Vota.

In addition to swinging the state in the presidential race, the effort led to the passage of a proposition on this year's ballot to bolster funding for public schools by hundreds of millions of dollars each year by imposing a tax on the top 4 percent of wage earners in Arizona.

2020 Election

CLOSE CALLS

A Second Senate Race In Georgia Will Require A Runoff in January

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

Control of the Senate hung in the balance on Friday in Georgia after Senator David Perdue, a Republican, fell just short of the majority of votes he needed to win reelection, setting the stage for a second January runoff in the rapidly changing state.

With the Senate narrowly divided, the twin rematches scheduled for just two weeks before Inauguration Day will almost certainly determine which party controls the chamber, as well as the fate of Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s agenda if he prevails to win the White House, as expected.

Facing such extraordinarily high stakes, both parties were quickly positioning themselves for a nine-week, year-end sprint that could cost another \$100 million as Republicans and Democrats vie for a pair of crucial seats, and feud over the outcome of the presidential election. The runoffs promised to thrust a rapidly changing Georgia into the center of the nation's political fray and test the extent of Democrats' emerging strength in what was once a Republican stronghold in the Deep South.

Georgia's special Senate election has been destined for a runoff since Tuesday, when the Rev. Dr. Raphael Warnock, a Democrat, and Senator Kelly Loeffler, a Republican, emerged as the top two vote getters in a crowded field vying to replace the retired senator Johnny Isakson.

But Republicans had hoped they could stave off a second such contest in Mr. Perdue's case. By the time his race was called Friday night after a protracted count, though, Mr. Perdue had a razor-thin lead over Jon Ossoff, his Democratic challenger, and neither candidate claimed the majority of votes required under Georgia law to avoid a rematch.

Two other Senate races, in North Carolina and in Alaska, had not yet been called on Friday night. But Republicans were leading in both and expected to win, which would put them at 50 seats.

If Democrats take both of Georgia's seats, they would draw the Senate to a 50-50 tie, effectively taking control of the chamber if Mr. Biden wins the presidency, given the vice president's power to cast tiebreaking votes. But that was a tall order in a state with deep conservative roots, and Republicans felt reasonably confident they could hang onto at least one of the seats needed to deny Democrats the majority, especially if January turnout slumps.

For Democrats, who have struggled in the past to turn out

voters in runoffs, it will be a bank-shot attempt to harness total control of Washington after a spate of otherwise disappointing congressional elections. They were already so preoccupied with the task that in Washington, Speaker Nancy Pelosi urged Democratic lawmakers in a private call on Thursday to mind their messaging in the weeks ahead or risk alienating swing voters in Georgia.

Should Mr. Biden win, as appeared increasingly likely on Friday, Republicans will be motivated to deny him the majority, holding onto considerable power to shape at least the first two years of his term and thwarting liberal ambitions. A super PAC associated with Susan B. Anthony List, the anti-abortion group, already pledged on Thursday to spend \$4 million for Mr. Perdue and Ms. Loeffler.

Regardless of the eventual outcome, the runoffs were a clear sign of Democrats' growing power in Georgia. After years of predictions, the mobilization of Black voters and movement toward Democrats by educated white women in Atlanta's suburbs signaled that Georgia's status as a true battleground state might finally have arrived.

"Change has come to Georgia," Mr. Ossoff predicted at a rally on Friday, "and Georgia is a part of the change coming to America."

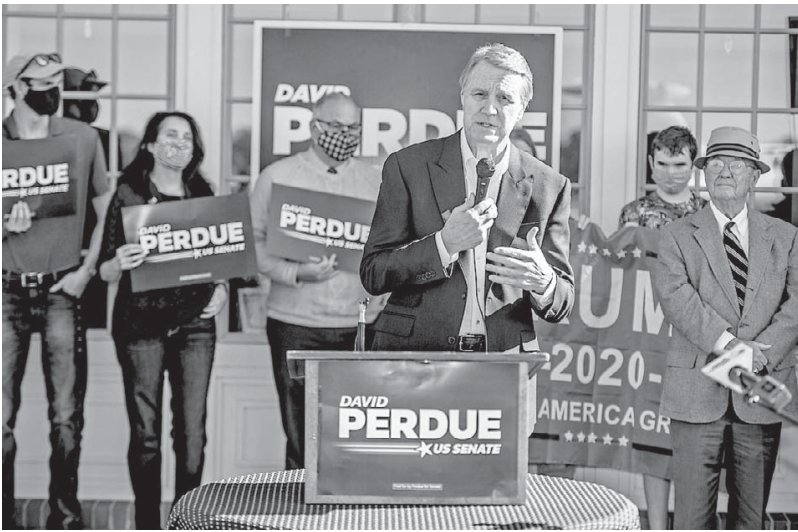
Mr. Perdue's campaign made clear immediately that he would seek to nationalize the race, saying that a vote for Mr. Ossoff would be "a vote to hand power to Chuck Schumer and the radical Democrats in Washington." Republicans were ready to try to harness the grievance among President Trump's most ardent supporters, hoping that the president's baseless claims of fraud and a backlash to his likely loss could power them to a win in January.

With Mr. Trump defying the election results, it was hard to predict how involved he might be in the Senate races. But early Friday morning, he insinuated in a tweet that Democrats were still trying to claim power through nefarious means so they could reverse Republican policies.

"Would End the Filibuster, 'Life,' 2A, and would Pack and Rotate the Court. Presidency becomes even more important," he wrote. "We will win!"

Ms. Loeffler, for one, raced to court his support, repeatedly tweeting support for the president and donating to his cause.

"Praying for four more years of @realDonaldTrump!" she wrote in one tweet.



MICHAEL HOLAHAN/THE AUGUSTA CHRONICLE, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Senator David Perdue, the Republican, holds a thin lead but does not have the majority of votes.



JOHN AMIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Jon Ossoff, the Democrat, said Friday that "Georgia is a part of the change coming to America."

For all of the national overtones, the races could also be a defining moment for Georgia, a battle between the New South represented by Atlanta and its increasingly diverse suburbs and the Old South dominated by rural and business conservatives.

Mr. Perdue, 70, a former chief executive of Reebok and Dollar General who beat his Democratic opponent by eight points in 2014, was initially expected to have an easy road to re-election.

But he was weighed down by voters' displeasure with Mr. Trump's coronavirus response — and by his own missteps. He faced accusations of anti-Semitism after running a Facebook advertisement that enlarged the nose of Mr. Ossoff, who is Jewish, a move his campaign blamed on a vendor. He struggled to keep up with Mr. Ossoff's prodigious fund-raising,

which exploded in mid-October after Mr. Perdue publicly mocked the first name of Senator Kamala Harris, his colleague in the Senate for nearly four years and the Democrats' nominee for vice president.

"Kah-MAH-lah or KAH-mah-lah or Kamamboamamla — I don't know," he said at a rally for Mr. Trump in Macon. Mr. Perdue's campaign said he had "simply mispronounced" the first name of Ms. Harris, a Black woman of Indian and Jamaican descent. Mr. Ossoff called it bullying and suggested it was racially insensitive.

As in his 2014 race, Mr. Perdue ran as a Washington outsider, campaigning in a denim jacket rather than the expensive tailored suits he wears in the Senate. The case was harder to make this time given his six-year record there.

Mr. Perdue pounded Mr. Ossoff

as too extreme for the state, distorting many of the Democrat's positions on policing, health care and a range of other issues to try to scare moderate voters to his side. He praised Republicans' tax and regulatory cuts, as well as the popular programs Congress approved to help unemployed Americans and small businesses weather the pandemic.

In a good sign for Republicans approaching the runoff, Mr. Perdue outperformed Mr. Trump in Tuesday's voting, and Mr. Ossoff trailed Mr. Biden.

Mr. Ossoff, 33, tried to portray Mr. Perdue as a flunky for special interests who failed Georgia in a time of crisis and was putting people's health care at risk by pressing to repeal the Affordable Care Act. Citing reports that Mr. Perdue was trading stocks early in the pandemic, Mr. Ossoff accused

The Republicans' ability to hang on to their majority is suddenly in limbo.

the senator of having been more interested in his own financial success than that of Georgians.

"Retirement is coming for Senator David Perdue," Mr. Ossoff said on Friday. "A senator who saw fit to continue to attack our health care in the midst of a pandemic. A senator who told us that this disease that has taken a quarter of a million lives was no deadlier than the ordinary flu while he looked out for himself."

The special election has followed a similar course thematically, but pits two very different candidates against one another. Dr. Warnock, 51, who emerged as the front-runner after Tuesday's voting, is the pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church, which the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. once led.

Ms. Loeffler, 49, is a businesswoman and the richest member of the Senate. She overcame a stiff challenge from Representative Doug Collins, a fellow Republican. She poured more than \$20 million of her own fortune into the race and had the backing of the state's Republican governor and Senate Republicans' campaign apparatus, who believed Ms. Loeffler's record as a businesswoman could win back independent suburban voters, particularly women.

But the fight to edge out Mr. Collins turned bitter and personal, driving Ms. Loeffler to the hard right. She courted the support of Marjorie Taylor Greene, a QAnon conspiracy theorist who won a House seat on Tuesday in Georgia, and took other positions that could be hard to walk back in January.

On Thursday, she had already begun attacking Dr. Warnock, giving a glimpse of a playbook that will try to mine his rhetoric from years on the pulpit and liberal policy positions to portray him as a pastor in the mold of the Rev. Jeremiah A. Wright Jr., the former pastor of former President Barack Obama, whose "God damn America" sermon was used to attack the former president.

But Republicans are getting a late start. Consumed for much of the year with holding off Mr. Collins, Ms. Loeffler left Dr. Warnock largely untouched as he introduced himself to voters on purely positive terms as a pastor and healer.

Anticipating a barrage of attacks on the horizon, Dr. Warnock used his first advertisement of the runoff, a spoof of a campaign-style attack ad, released on Thursday to try to prime voters for what was coming.

"Kelly Loeffler doesn't want to talk about why she's for getting rid of health care in the middle of a pandemic, so she's going to try and scare you with lies about me," he said.

NEW POWER BROKER

Motivated by 2018 Loss, Abrams Built a Well-Funded Network That Helped Biden

This article is by Danny Hakim, Stephanie Saul and Glenn Thrush.

Stacey Abrams, who earlier this year was on a short list of potential vice-presidential candidates, was ultimately not chosen by Joseph R. Biden Jr. But on Friday, as Mr. Biden took a narrow lead in Georgia, it was Ms. Abrams who was celebrated, a sign of her remarkable ascent as a power broker since her failed bid for governor of that state two years ago.

Celebrities, activists and voters across Georgia credited Ms. Abrams with transforming her loss — she came within 55,000 votes of the governor's mansion — and building a well-funded network of organizations that highlighted voter suppression in the state and inspired an estimated 800,000 residents to register to vote.

"You have to build the infrastructure to organize and motivate your base, and you have to persuade people," said Jason Carter, a Democrat who was the party's candidate for governor in 2014. "Stacey built that infrastructure, and Donald Trump's presidency energized that infrastructure, and it opened up voters to persuasion who were previously not open, particularly in the suburbs."

Mr. Biden pulled ahead of President Trump in Georgia, a state that has not elected a Democratic presidential candidate in nearly three decades, and maintained a slight lead throughout Friday. He was up about 4,100 votes Friday evening with more than 98 percent of the ballots counted. Because of the small margin, the secretary of state confirmed there would be a recount.

Still, Democrats in the state were jubilant.

State Senator Jen Jordan, a

Astead Herndon contributed reporting.

Democrat, said Ms. Abrams had built upon her loss by recognizing Georgia's population growth, and its increasingly diverse demographic, as an opening for Democrats.

"She saw it coming," Ms. Jordan said in an interview Friday. "The data was there if you wanted to look at it. The problem was nobody was really willing to look at the data."

By bringing attention to the possibilities in Georgia, Ms. Jordan continued, Ms. Abrams attracted money to the state and used it to boost Democratic politicians. The organization has also distributed money to other state Democratic parties, particularly in the South.

Donors to her organizations have included labor unions and former New York Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg.

"She really put the spotlight on Georgia, convinced the people that needed to be convinced that there was room here, that there were voters here, and that this place really was competitive if people would just put in the time, the money and the effort in to do that," Ms. Jordan said.

Ms. Abrams fought hard in 2018, and when she lost, she refused to concede. Her opponent, Brian Kemp, was then serving as Georgia's secretary of state, the top election officer, and had spent years aggressively purging the state's voter rolls and battling civil rights groups over ballot access. Mistrust lingers over that race.

"I, for one, feel she would be our governor if it were not for the rampant voter suppression tactics," said Nikema Williams, the state's Democratic Party chair who on Tuesday emerged as the victor to succeed John Lewis in the U.S. Congress. "The work that she did in organizing people on the ground, in coalition with other progressive organizations, was



JOHNATHAN KELSO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Stacey Abrams attracted money to Georgia and used it to boost Democratic politicians, State Senator Jen Jordan said on Friday.

critical to building the infrastructure in this state."

Ms. Abrams declined to comment on Friday. But in a tweet, she wrote, "My heart is full." And she cited the work of other activists. "Georgia, let's shout out those who've been in the trenches and deserve the plaudits for change."

If Mr. Biden holds onto his slim lead in Georgia, her profile is likely to grow.

Mr. Carter, the grandson of former President Jimmy Carter who lost by eight percentage points, said Democrats had "hit a partisan ceiling" in the state. But "since 2014, Stacey's effort, and others, have raised that partisan ceiling" by broadening appeal to younger voters, people of color and suburban residents.

After her loss in 2018, Ms. Abrams described that election as nonetheless a victory of sorts, as she had garnered more votes than any Democrat in Georgia history. Still, she acknowledged the pain, telling an interviewer that she "sat shiva" for 10 days, a reference

to the Jewish mourning ritual.

Then she moved on to building a network of organizations that has become a well-funded juggernaut for voting rights and economic advancement. While some on the right have criticized her as a divisive figure, and her growing profile is not uniformly welcomed in the state's Black political circles, there is general agreement that she has driven voters, particularly Black voters, to the polls.

In addition to fund-raising for a voter-protection initiative, Ms. Abrams's organization has assisted Democratic state legislative candidates, whose campaigns have long been in legislative districts drawn by Republicans.

Ms. Abrams, a former minority leader of the Georgia House, founded the New Georgia Project while she was still in the state legislature. The nonprofit registered about 100,000 new voters. She then founded Fair Fight Action, an organization geared at combating voter suppression.

Since then, her network, head-

quartered in Atlanta, has grown into a varied network, including Fair Fight PAC, a SuperPAC that collected more than \$33 million this election cycle. There's also Fair Count, which promotes the census, and the Southern Economic Advancement Project, an organization whose mission is broadening economic power and building a more equitable future for underserved communities.

It is a mission deeply personal to Ms. Abrams, whose parents met in high school in Hattiesburg, Miss., and studied at Tougaloo College, a historically Black school near Jackson, Miss., before becoming Methodist clergy members. Ms. Abrams, 46, holds a law degree from Yale and worked as a tax lawyer before entering politics. She also has an affinity for Star Trek.

Her organization's work against voter suppression was made more urgent by her defeat two years ago, and her allegations that suppression had played a role. Since then, Fair Fight has been a lead plaintiff in a federal lawsuit against the Georgia secretary of state in an effort to broaden access to voting. The suit takes aim at the state's voter purges, its use of exact signature matching, and how it handles provisional ballots and its closing or relocation of polling sites.

Last year, Georgia reinstated 22,000 voters it had purged amid legal pressure from the group.

"This litigation has functioned as a significant point of pressure for the secretary of state and the state Board of Elections to make sure that Georgia's election system is functioning the way that it should be," said Jonathan Diaz, legal counsel for voting rights at the Campaign Legal Center, which is representing Fair Fight in the case.

Not everyone is celebrating Ms. Abrams. Lee Morris, a Republican who serves as county commis-

sioner in Fulton County, home to Atlanta, said he viewed Ms. Abrams, a fiery orator, as "divisive," drawing a comparison between her and Mr. Trump.

"Like President Trump's allegations of cheating and corruption have fired up the right side, certainly her efforts have fired up the enthusiasm of folks to get out and vote," Mr. Morris said in an interview Friday. That said, while Mr. Trump's false claims of rigged elections and widespread cheating are baseless, Georgia has a long and documented history of voter suppression, particularly among voters of color.

Ms. Abrams has, at times, also run afoul of members of her own party, who criticized her blunt ambition and open desire to be Mr. Biden's running mate. In the South, where Black politicians are close-knit and traditional, Ms. Abrams has also been a disruptive force. Her political vision can be at odds with the local Democratic establishment, and her shot to national prominence has ruffled feathers.

The political payoff of Mr. Biden's breakthrough in Georgia, however, may put those tensions to rest. The playbook she popularized took root — a combination of winning back metro suburbanites and registering new voters in Black, Latino and Asian-American communities.

Nse Ufot, the current chief executive of New Georgia Project, said electoral campaigns are often too shortsighted to do the long-term work of registering and educating new voters, regardless of party affiliation.

"When you think about the transactional nature of electoral campaigns, I think they prioritize getting people who are already voters to vote for them," Ms. Ufot said, adding that there was "not enough conversation about 100 million Americans who are eligible to vote who did not vote in 2016."

NEW YORK

Concerns Over Alienating Moderates Stoke Tension Among Democrats

By LUIS FERRÉ-SADURNÍ and JESSE MCKINLEY

The feelings of betrayal seemed to begin about a year ago, when Representative Max Rose, a first-term Democratic congressman representing a swing district that includes Staten Island, voted in favor of impeaching President Trump.

Then, as calls to defund the police swirled around New York City and Black Lives Matter demonstrations filled the streets this summer, Mr. Rose joined a protest. That further alienated some moderate voters.

“The Republican promise was strong in terms of safety,” said Thomas Abbate, 46, a mechanical engineer from Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, who voted for Mr. Rose in 2018, but switched his vote this year to the Republican candidate, Nicole Malliotakis, because he said he feels his neighborhood is in decline. “We need a change.”

Buoyed by the prospects of broad anti-Trump fervor in New York City, Democrats had hoped to retain Mr. Rose’s seat, traditionally a Republican bulwark. Instead, he is on the verge of losing his race to Ms. Malliotakis. Republicans also seem poised to keep two House seats on Long Island that Democrats had hoped to flip, and could gain another seat in Central New York.

The Democratic Party, despite securing its majority in the House, lost seats instead of building its majority as expected. The party is now roiled in a debate over its future and its messaging, fueled by concerns that its stances had alienated moderate voters in competitive races. The passions spilled over in a conference call on Thursday between Speaker Nancy Pelosi and her caucus.

The party’s progressive stars, including Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, have forcefully challenged that narrative, suggesting Democrats faring poorly failed to get their message across through digital platforms, a critical oversight during a pandemic.

“I decided to open the hood on struggling campaigns of candidates who are blaming progressives for their problems,” she wrote on Twitter on Friday. “Almost all had awful execution on digital. DURING A PANDEMIC.”

While the suburbs in many parts of the country seemed to reject Mr. Trump’s brand of brash, hard-right rhetoric and policy, several Republican candidates in New York appeared to find success by characterizing moderate Democrats in swing districts as anti-law enforcement. That message was often conflated with calls from the left to “defund the police” and with occasionally violent clashes between authorities and Black Lives Matter protesters.

“The woke movement awak-

Reporting was contributed by Alexandra E. Petri, Arielle Dollinger, Angela Macropoulos and Sarah Maslin Nir.



DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



BENJAMIN NORMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from top, Leo Lykourazos, the owner of a pizzeria in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, supported the Republican challenger in his local House race; Max Rose, a first-term Democratic congressman, ran against Nicole Malliotakis, a Republican state assemblywoman.



DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ened the cultural conservative in a lot of voters,” said William F. B. O’Reilly, a Republican political consultant in New York. “The left overreached.”

Some Democratic leaders and political consultants have forcefully pushed back on characterizations that the party fell short in the 2020 elections, noting that they were behind in competitive districts that tend to favor Republicans in the first place.

In the State Senate, where several first-term Democratic incumbents are behind after machine counts of ballots, officials say there are tens of thousands of absentee ballots — which have broken heavily for Democrats in other states — yet to be counted, giving the party hope of limiting or completely eliminating losses.

Still, there was a grudging acknowledgment by Democratic leaders that their candidates had fallen short of expectations.

The state’s three-term Demo-

cratic governor, Andrew M. Cuomo, repeated on Friday that he felt the election results in New York “shouldn’t have been that close,” an outcome he attributed to Republican attacks on moderate Democrats and their usage of images of New York City during protests and scattered incidents of looting.

“In New York, I think the Republican message that they orchestrated, saying Democratic chaos must be stopped, Democrats are anti-law-and-order, I think that resonated,” the governor said.

The 11th Congressional District, represented by Mr. Rose, encompasses Staten Island and a part of South Brooklyn, and has long been the city’s most conservative. Guy Molinari and Susan Molinari, a Republican father and daughter political dynasty, represented the district in Congress for most of the 1980s and 1990s.

Mr. Rose was elected in a “blue

wave” in 2018, beating the incumbent, Dan Donovan, by running as an anti-establishment centrist, saying he wanted to “get rid of all the leadership in D.C. — Republican and Democrat.”

But Ms. Malliotakis easily found success linking Mr. Rose, a veteran, to the Black Lives Matter movement and the progressive factions of his party, including the city’s unpopular mayor.

“She was able to paint Max Rose as less strong on law and order,” said Jim Lamond, 79, a resident of Bay Ridge who voted Democrat, but who has close friends who didn’t. “They thought Rose was too linked to de Blasio,” referring to Bill de Blasio, the New York City mayor.

Democrats also faced potential roadblocks on Long Island, once a Republican stronghold, but which has turned increasingly Democratic as suburban demographics rapidly change.

The party found success there

in 2018, picking up four State Senate seats long held by Republicans. Democrats had hoped to build on that success, investing heavily to try to flip two congressional districts whose voters had traditionally elected Republicans.

The efforts seem poised to fail. On the eastern end of Long Island, the Republican incumbent since 2015, Representative Lee Zeldin, held a sizable lead over his Democratic challenger in the 1st Congressional District, with absentee votes yet to be counted.

The race in the 2nd District, which is represented by Peter King, a 14-term Republican who is retiring, appeared tighter, but Andrew Garbarino, a Republican Assemblyman, held an edge over the Democrat, Jackie Gordon, with absentee votes yet to be counted.

And Mr. Trump, who despite his unpopularity in many parts of New York, his former home state, seems on track to amass more votes in Nassau and Suffolk Coun-

NEW JERSEY

House Seat Stays in Hands of Republican Who Left Democrats and Backed Trump

By PATRICK MCGEEHAN and TRACEY TULLY

Representative Jeff Van Drew, a onetime Democrat who switched parties in December and declared allegiance to President Trump, held onto his New Jersey seat in a race against Amy Kennedy, a former teacher who married into an American political dynasty.

The race was the last New Jersey congressional contest to be decided, and one of only two in the state won by a Republican. Mr. Van Drew’s protracted victory appeared to vindicate his politically fraught decision to cross party lines and align himself with the president during last year’s impeachment proceedings.

The Associated Press declared Mr. Van Drew the winner at midday on Friday. Its tally showed that he had received 51.7 percent of the votes, compared with 46.7 percent for Ms. Kennedy. That five-point lead amounted to more than 15,000 votes as of Friday afternoon.

Mr. Van Drew had claimed victory nearly three days earlier, on election night, with tens of thousands of ballots still to be counted. But Ms. Kennedy had not conceded by early Friday afternoon. The Associated Press called the race with about 80 percent of precincts reporting.

Mr. Van Drew may be returning to Washington without Mr. Trump, whose prospects for re-election appeared to be fading fast as the last votes were counted in Pennsylvania and other battleground states. A posting on the

Facebook page of Mr. Van Drew’s campaign said that he had spoken to Mr. Trump on Thursday night and offered to help the president in any way he could.

“Our campaigns have worked hand in hand from day one and have continued to do so since Election Night,” the posting said.

In a statement issued after the race was called on Friday, Mr. Van Drew made only a passing reference to his decision to switch parties.

“The United States of America is an exceptional nation and I will continue to work with anyone willing to put party aside to fight for a strong America and a strong South Jersey,” Mr. Van Drew said.

First elected to the House two years ago as a Democrat, Mr. Van Drew overcame his opponent’s lead in most polls, a considerable fund-raising disadvantage and the familiarity of the Kennedy name. Ms. Kennedy’s husband, Patrick Kennedy, a former congressman from Rhode Island, is a nephew of President John F. Kennedy.

Ms. Kennedy’s performance in her home base of Atlantic County was disappointing, compared with the strong support there for Joseph R. Biden Jr., the former vice president, in the presidential race. With about three-fourths of the expected votes in Atlantic County counted, Mr. Biden had a 9,000-vote edge on Mr. Trump. But Ms. Kennedy was leading Mr. Van Drew there by fewer than 4,800 votes.

“Jeff Van Drew has been around

a long time, and he’s got cross-party support, but I was not expecting a drop-off like that,” said Michael Suleiman, chairman of the Atlantic County Democratic Committee. “I wish Amy had a better showing out of Atlantic County.”

Local observers attributed much of that falloff to the work of Craig Callaway, a notorious political operative whom Mr. Van Drew had paid more than \$100,000 for his get-out-the-vote efforts.

Mr. Callaway, who served more than three years in prison for bribery, specializes in delivering mail ballots from low-income precincts in and around Atlantic City, a Democratic stronghold. State law was changed five years ago to limit to three the number of ballots a “messenger” like Mr. Callaway can deliver to a polling place or collection site. Mr. Callaway had worked for Ms. Kennedy during the Democratic primary, but after a falling out signed on with the Van Drew campaign.

“It’s been a controversial operation over time, but it’s never been actually proven vote fraud,” said John Froomjian, director of the William J. Hughes Center for Public Policy at Stockton University, in the state’s Galloway Township.

Mr. Callaway did not respond to messages seeking comment.

Ms. Kennedy, 42, carried only two of the eight counties — Atlantic and Cumberland — within the Second Congressional District, which stretches across the southern end of New Jersey from the Atlantic Ocean to the Delaware



THE PRESS OF ATLANTIC CITY, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

River. Mr. Van Drew overcame those deficits by winning in the more conservative counties of Cape May, Gloucester, Ocean and Salem. The district also includes small portions of Burlington and Camden Counties.

Mr. Van Drew was a vocal opponent of the president’s impeachment and joined the Republicans in December when it became clear that he could not count on re-election support from Democratic leaders in his South Jersey district, setting up a marquee House race infused with national angst.

“A lot of money and a lot of power was used against me, quite frankly, to remove me from my seat during a difficult year,” Mr. Van Drew said in an address to supporters late Tuesday, which his campaign manager, Ron Filan, said was a declaration of victory.

“But the truth is, we believed,” he added. “We believed in the America that we know, the America that we love, the America that we know is this great place.”

Mr. Van Drew was able to overcome the stigma of switching parties, buoyed by Mr. Trump’s warm embrace in a district that the pres-

ident won by about five points in 2016. Comparable results for Mr. Trump in the district this year were not available.

In another close congressional contest in South Jersey, Representative Andy Kim, a first-term Democrat, defeated David Richter, a wealthy Republican businessman who similarly yoked himself to Mr. Trump during the campaign.

And Representative Tom Malinowski, a first-term Democrat who, like Mr. Kim, was elected two years ago in a so-called blue wave aligned against Mr. Trump, defeated Thomas Kean Jr., the minority leader of the State Senate.

In other races, Representative Mikie Sherrill, a first-term Democrat and former Navy helicopter pilot, beat Rosemary Becchi, a tax lawyer, and U.S. Senator Cory Booker, a Democrat, was re-elected in his race against the Republican candidate, Rik Mehta, a biotech entrepreneur.

The election in New Jersey was conducted mostly by mail and yielded a voter turnout that Gov. Philip D. Murphy said on Thursday would exceed four million and

ties than he did in 2016. His presence at the top of the ticket, some political observers said, may have benefited Mr. Garbarino in a district with many blue-collar voters.

“Trump in 2016, and this year, has been the largest driver of Republican voters in modern history,” said Matt Rey, a partner at Red Horse Strategies, a political consulting firm based in the city. “That includes bringing out a whole host of people who have never voted before, and beating his ability to do so in 2016.”

In several of New York’s swing districts, voters interviewed this week — many of them older and white — appeared receptive to Republicans’ law-and-order message and the perception that the Democratic Party was run by the far left and was singularly obsessed with defeating the president.

“I don’t see Democrats putting anything forward as a plan other than, ‘orange-man bad,’” said Vinny Papa, 54, who works as a parts manager at a car dealership in Suffolk County.

Mr. Papa, an independent voter who said he has voted for both Democrats and Republicans, said he is “not a big Trump supporter,” but voted for Mr. Trump because “Republicans are bad, and the Democrats are a hundred times worse.”

Dana Gencarelli, 35, a mother of two young children, said that she was happy with Ms. Malliotakis’s lead because her top concern was public safety, a priority she said Mr. Rose did not share.

“Do I always feel Republicans are doing the right thing? No,” she said, as she had pizza with family outside of Leo’s in Bay Ridge. “But right now the Democrats aren’t doing the right thing.”

Still others, including registered Republicans like Cameron Lory Faulds, a Bay Ridge resident who has voted for both parties in the past, chose the Democratic nominee, Joseph R. Biden Jr., because she wants someone “who represents my social values.

“I’m not voting for Trump’s enablers,” she said standing by a yard sign outside her home that read: “I’m a Republican but not a fool! Biden 2020.”

In many cases, however, voters appeared jaded by an election cycle that devolved into one of the most bruising and divisive in recent memory. With the outcome of the election still uncertain, some voters preferred not to express their political views or say who they had voted for.

Walking in Lindenhurst, a village on Long Island’s South Shore, Richard S. Tibbets, 74, a retired union electrician and veteran, was one of those reticent voters.

“We don’t even know if our commander in chief is going to be the next president or not,” he said. “It doesn’t look good, but you never know.”

Mr. Tibbets would not say who he voted for, but his choice of headwear, if not his comments, seemed to provide the answer: He wore a Trump 2020 hat.

Representative Jeff Van Drew, a newly minted Republican, on election night. He defeated a better-funded Kennedy.

amount to the highest in the state’s history.

Soon after Mr. Van Drew switched parties — with a pledge of “undying support” for Mr. Trump — the president came to the district for a raucous, campaign-style rally that solidified the lifelong Democrat’s standing in the eyes of many Republicans. Still, he was outraised by Ms. Kennedy, who generated \$4.25 million in contributions, compared with the \$3.9 million he was able to bank.

It was Ms. Kennedy’s first run for elective office. A mother of five, she is the education director for a mental health advocacy group founded by her husband, Patrick J. Kennedy, who represented Rhode Island in the House until early 2011.

Ms. Kennedy was shown to have about a five-point edge over Mr. Van Drew in a Monmouth University poll conducted in late September. But the race was considered by the Cook Political Report to be a tossup in a district that had been represented by a Republican for 24 years before Mr. Van Drew was elected in 2018.

Mr. Van Drew, a retired dentist, rose in politics from mayor of Denning, N.J., to county legislator to state lawmaker, serving in both the Assembly and the Senate in one of the most conservative regions of the state.

His decision to join the Republicans sent political shock waves through the district, leading Mr. Richter, his would-be Republican opponent, to pack his bags to run in an adjacent district against Mr. Kim, clearing a wide path for Mr. Van Drew.

2020 Election

‘It really matters that you look like the country, because everyone brings a slightly different perspective.’

JOSEPH R. BIDEN JR., speaking about his goal of assembling the most diverse cabinet in history.



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. is interested in making a bipartisan gesture with appointments in his potential cabinet.

TRANSITION MODE

Biden Drafts Plans for White House Staffing

From Page A1

group of roughly two dozen health policy and technology experts to look at the development and delivery of a vaccine, improving health data and securing supply chains, among other issues.

Among those expected to play a key health care role in a Biden administration is Vivek Murthy, a former surgeon general under President Barack Obama, who has privately been advising Mr. Biden for months on the pandemic and is expected to play a large public role as a face of the potential Democratic administration's response to the virus, dispensing advice on mask-wearing and social distancing.

Transition officials are also looking at what types of economic actions could be taken almost immediately, including rolling back some of Mr. Trump's executive orders, part of a tradition in which new presidents move quickly to change or reverse regulations across federal agencies.

Mr. Biden, 77, has told associates that he considers his two terms as vice president and his knowledge of how a White House operates from the inside as crucial advantages in building out a government. And he has made it plain in public and private that a diverse team is central to his mission.

“Men, women, gay, straight, center, across the board, Black, white, Asian,” Mr. Biden said this spring when talking about his prospective cabinet. “It really matters that you look like the country, because everyone brings a slightly different perspective.”

Though Mr. Biden and Democrats had aggressively pushed to take control of the Senate, the party fell short in hotly contested races this week. Now Senate Republicans are likely to hold veto power over his most senior appointments, a reality that looms large over conversations, even if Democrats could still conceivably control the Senate if they win two runoff elections in Georgia in January.

Even before it was clear that Democrats would not win a clear majority in the Senate, Mr. Biden's advisers began gearing up for bruising cabinet confirmation battles, bringing in top Obama veterans to run what is informally being called a transition war room.

Initially, Mr. Biden is expected to focus on filling top posts at the White House, including chief of staff, the most powerful single staff position. Ron Klain, his former chief of staff as vice president, who served as the White House Ebola response coordinator under Mr. Obama, is seen to have the inside track for that job, though others are still reportedly under serious consideration.

At the center of Mr. Biden's transition planning is Ted Kaufman, his former chief of staff in the Senate, who replaced Mr. Biden in the Senate after he became vice president, as well as Jeff



MARK HUMPHREY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Susan Rice, who served as national security adviser in the Obama administration, may be considered for secretary of state.



JONATHAN ERNST/REUTERS

Ted Kaufman, Mr. Biden's former chief of staff who replaced him in the Senate, is at the center of the team's transition planning.

Zients, a former Obama administration official.

Like Mr. Biden, Mr. Kaufman, 81, is seen as an institutionalist, and he in fact wrote the law devoting additional government resources to transition teams. Yohannes Abraham, who worked in the Obama White House as a top aide to Valerie Jarrett and the National Economic Council, is overseeing the day-to-day operation.

Given his decades-long career in Washington, Mr. Biden has nu-

Some of the most powerful cabinet roles have front-runners.

merous relationships from his time in the Senate and the White House with people across various policy areas. That history also means that his transition team has faced a crush of outside advice and former Biden associates jockeying for jobs and influence.

Parts of the cast that had Mr. Biden's ear throughout the presidential campaign — Anita Dunn, a senior adviser; Steve Ricchetti, another former vice-presidential chief of staff; and Mr. Klain — are among those guiding the formation of a government. Senator Kamala Harris of California, his run-

ning mate, is generating names and speaks regularly to Mr. Biden. In Mr. Biden's policy orbit on the campaign, Jake Sullivan and Antony J. Blinken are widely seen as the most influential figures, and both are expected to hold senior posts in his administration.

Where they land is considered one of the early decisions that will help determine other appointments. Mr. Sullivan, a former adviser to Hillary Clinton, may be lined up for one of a number of posts, while Mr. Blinken, who served as national security adviser to the vice president, is considered the leading candidate for national security adviser.

Some of the most powerful cabinet positions already have perceived front-runners.

The top candidate to lead the Defense Department is Michèle Flournoy, a former under secretary of defense for policy who worked with Biden officials during the campaign. She would be the first woman ever to be appointed to the job.

Lael Brainard, who sits on the Federal Reserve's board of governors and served in the Treasury Department under Mr. Obama, is the most talked-about candidate to run the department, especially if the Senate is controlled by Republicans, which would make it harder to confirm a more progressive choice like Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts.

Susan Rice, a former national security adviser during the

Obama administration whom Mr. Biden vetted for vice president, has been considered a leading choice to lead the State Department, but the threat of Senate Republicans blocking her from becoming the nation's chief diplomat in 2012 led to her withdrawal, and her appointment now would surely set off a fight.

Mr. Blinken, a former deputy secretary of state, has been discussed among Biden allies as a possible choice, along with Senator Chris Coons of Delaware, a top Biden supporter who in October wrote an article in Foreign Affairs magazine on his world views.

The transition team has already assembled a staff of more than 75 officials with plans for that number to balloon to roughly 300 transition staff members by Inauguration Day in January, according to more than a half-dozen transition and campaign officials and people familiar with the planning process who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss private conversations before a call in the presidential race had been made.

Leaders of the Biden transition group are aware that many career staff members and civil servants throughout the federal bureaucracy have become demoralized and have felt marginalized during the Trump administration. In a small gesture, they are planning to call their first arrivals at agencies “agency review teams,” as opposed to what the Trump operation called the “landing teams” in 2016, according to people familiar with the planning.

Already hanging over the discussions are the midterm elections, in 2022, which have traditionally been a struggle for whichever party holds the White House and which could be especially complicated for Democrats during an era of increasingly common progressive primary challenges.

Some Democratic House members who endorsed Mr. Biden early, such as Representative Filemon B. Vela Jr. of Texas and Representative Brendan Boyle of Pennsylvania, could be in line for administration positions if they wanted them.

“We have an expression where I come from: You never forget those who bring you to the dance,” Mr. Biden said at a stop with Mr. Boyle in Philadelphia this week.

The Biden operation is preparing for Mr. Trump to potentially put up transition roadblocks. The administrator for the General Services Administration has the legal authority to release about \$6.6 million in federal funding to Mr. Biden's transition, and in past years has done that soon after the race is called.

Pamela Pennington, a spokeswoman for the G.S.A., said in a statement that Emily W. Murphy, Mr. Trump's appointee as the agency's administrator, would start the official transition when it was clear that the race was over.

“The G.S.A. administrator does not pick the winner in the presidential election,” Ms. Pennington said. “The G.S.A. administrator ascertains the apparent successful candidate once a winner is clear based on the process laid out in the Constitution.”

NEWS ANALYSIS

For Hopeful Democrats, Panic Turns to Patience

By ASTEAD W. HERNDON and ANNIE KARNI

As Election Day turned into Election Week, an anxious nation lost days of productivity, with Americans interested only in what map gurus like CNN's John King and MSNBC's Steve Kornacki had to say about the effect of every new tranche of votes on the outcome of the race. And, a bold race call awarding Arizona to Joseph R. Biden Jr. by Fox News on election night, followed by the Associated Press, shocked the Trump campaign.

As of late Friday, Mr. Biden was within striking distance of being the next president of the United States, powered by tight statewide victories in the Midwest states that went for President Trump in 2016: Michigan and Wisconsin. Mr. Biden was leading in Pennsylvania, another state that went for Mr. Trump in the last cycle. The former vice president was ahead in Arizona in the West, and Georgia in the South — giving Democrats hope for future victories in those states in spite of poor results down ballot elsewhere.

It was a mixed bag of results that is not yet final, as some states may require a recount while others continue to count ballots. Here are four takeaways from the results we know so far:

Democrats Confront Upsets and Gains

Democrats spent election night in a state of panic, as it became clear that Republican turnout surged passed polling predictions and Mr. Trump had an enduring coalition. By Thursday, as Mr. Biden edged closer to 270 electoral votes, Democratic fears had subsided but not disappeared. The party lost key Congressional races, failed to flip several state legislatures, and continued to show weakness among voting populations in Florida, Texas and Iowa.

The good news:

• **The ‘Blue Wall’ was repaired:** Since the beginning, Mr. Biden's campaign promised to win back the Midwestern states that delivered Mr. Trump an Electoral College victory in 2016. With wins in Michigan and Wisconsin so far, he's close to doing it. The margin was smaller than most polling predicted, and Mr. Trump showed real durability in rural areas, but Mr. Biden seems to have done enough. Going forward, that breaks down the belief that the party had become to localized to the coasts.

• **Georgia looks promising:** The Georgia special election for the Senate seat currently held by Kelly Loeffler, who was appointed to the position, will move to a runoff. Ms. Loeffler will face the Rev. Raphael Warnock, a Democrat, in January. The state's other senator, David Purdue, is also heading to a runoff after he failed to clear 50 percent in a tight race against his Democratic challenger, Jon Ossoff. Mr. Biden pulled ahead of Mr. Trump in the state early Friday morning as tallies in the vote-rich Atlanta suburbs notched up for the Democrat. A race call there was not expected for weeks, but Nate Cohn said the president would likely need a tabulation error to win. The last Democrat to be elected president here was Bill Clinton in 1992.

The 2020 Race Taught Us More About 2016

There was one subset of the political world that felt vindicated by the nail-biter presidential race: Democrats who worked for Hillary Clinton. The closeness of the Biden-Trump race suggests that the 2016 election outcome may have been less about Mrs. Clinton's political weaknesses than it was about Mr. Trump's political strengths.

In some of the states that Mr. Biden managed to flip, like Wisconsin, his victory was by a slim margin of about 20,000 votes. Four years ago, Mrs. Clinton lost the state by about 22,000. A potential victory with more than 300 electoral votes would look like a blowout for Mr. Biden, but it would also mask the fact that in some of the most critical states, the race was still only won by a hair.

Mr. Biden has not received the wide margins nationwide that many liberals had been hoping for. The silver lining for some former members of Clintonworld, as one put it: The 2016 Democratic nominee might not go down in history as the political ver-

sion of Bill Buckner, who blew the World Series for the Red Sox in 1986 by letting a ground ball go through his legs.

“His electoral strength in 2016 had less to do with any shortcomings of Hillary Clinton as a candidate or of her campaign than with Trump's own appeal to a broad segment of the population,” Stuart Appelbaum, president of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union and a member of the D.N.C.'s executive committee, said of Mr. Trump. “We need as Democrats to understand that and confront it more effectively going forward.”

Philippe Reines, a former top adviser to Mrs. Clinton both in the Senate and at the State Department, was even more blunt. “Hillary's owed more than a few apologies for how her campaign was assessed,” Mr. Reines said. Jennifer Palmieri, who served as communications director for the 2016 Clinton campaign, said that the current election gives a new perspective to the race four years ago.

“There's only so much you can do to ameliorate larger forces,” Ms. Palmieri said. “When I see young Latino and African-American men siding with Trump in a way they didn't in 2016, I don't fault the Biden campaign's African-American radio program. It is a symptom of a larger change that's happening.”

Trump's Unhelpful Personal Feuds

The tight map means that the Trump campaign will be forced to reckon with the realization that if they had done any number of small things differently, or if the candidate had not pursued unhelpful fights with political enemies (even beyond the grave), this thing could have gone the other way.

Campaign officials and outside advisers acknowledged that Republicans were damaged in Arizona by Mr. Trump's yearslong feud with Senator John McCain, a beloved figure in his home state, a personal disdain that continued even after he died in 2018. Fox News and The A.P. called Arizona for Mr. Biden on Tuesday night.

In Georgia, Mr. Biden took a narrow lead on Friday thanks to votes from Clayton County, the district that was represented by former Representative John Lewis, the civil rights icon who died in July. Mr. Trump had berated Mr. Lewis for calling his presidency “illegitimate,” noting that he should spend more time fixing his “horrible” and “crime-infested” district. Apparently, those words were not easily forgotten by the voters who lived there.

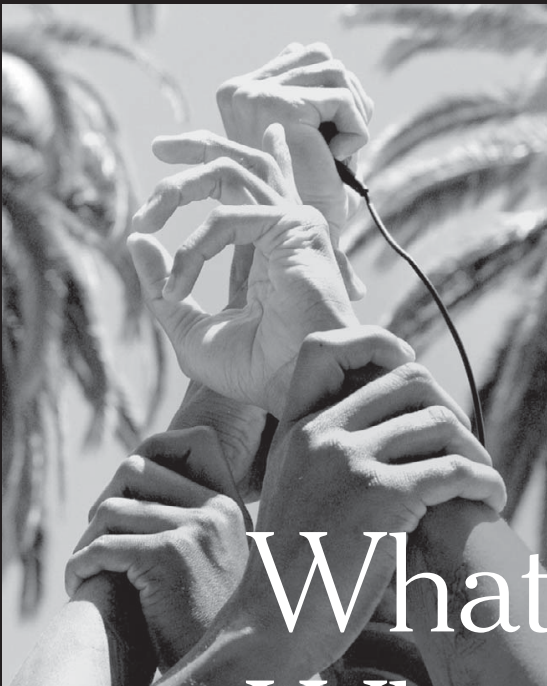
Some of his supporters were already playing the “what if” game, more broadly. “Where would Trump be if he never said what he said about Charlottesville, if he never said what he said about Khizr Khan, about Mika Brzezinski,” said Ari Fleischer, a former White House press secretary to President George W. Bush. In other words, where would he be if he wasn't Donald Trump?

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What to see.
What to hear.
Who can help.
How to give.
Where to turn.
How to connect.
What to say.
How to understand.



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